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The Hamlyn History
of the World in Colour
Volume Twelve

NEW WORLDS TO CONQUER

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Based on original French work,
Connaissance de l'Histoire
© 1967 Librairie Hachette.
Illustrations © 1967 Librairie Hachette
English text © 1969 The Hamlyn
Publishing Group Ltd.
SBN 6001 3951 4
First English edition 1969
Phototypeset by Oliver Burridge
Filmsetting Ltd, Crawley, Sussex
Printed in France by Brodard et Taupin,
Paris, for the Hamlyn Publishing Group
Ltd, London, New York, Sydney, Toronto.
The Centre, Feltham, Middlesex, England.

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Introduction

by GERALD S. GRAHAM

To
Francis Clifford Jones
1903-1968
of Bristol University
Historian of the Far East

Less than five hundred years ago the cloistered universe defined by Ptolemy was shattered, as inquisitive explorers of the Renaissance reached out over unknown waters and found strange lands on the other side of a round world. Although not realised at the time, the European struggle for power on the North and South American continents had opened when Columbus, by linking a New World to the Old in 1492, laid the foundations of the Spanish overseas empire. Five years later the ambit of European ambitions was once again widened when Vasco da Gama rounded the Cape of Good Hope, establishing a route to the East that has been followed to this day. Ranged along the Atlantic seaboard, Spain, Portugal, France, Holland and England sought in turn to exploit the discoveries, and the colonial rivalries of these western powers occupy a significant part of seventeenth and eighteenth-century history. As competition for overseas wealth gradually superimposed itself on the traditional pattern of continental relationships, European states had to revise their calculations on the sources of national power. Age-old policies of continental conquest and expansion inevitably conflicted with new and inviting dreams of riches to be found in ancient and vulnerable empires beyond the horizon.

Spain had the advantage of a head start, but as Dr Metcalf has succinctly explained, she failed to develop a stable administrative and economic basis from which to exploit her new-found riches. Nonetheless, despite her decline from European heights, in part owing to the savage aggressiveness of rivals, her empire in Central and South America remained intact. Remoteness was probably the key to immunity, for the area of competitive colonisation had shifted, by the middle of the seventeenth century, northward of the Caribbean. Meanwhile, successive Spanish governments continued a vain struggle to monopolise the commerce of resentful colonial dominions. Vast discoveries of silver, gold and diamonds brought settlers, soldiers and administrators, but embittered natives and corrupt officials combined to defeat the mother country's regulations. Only in the second half of the eighteenth century did Spain's governors cautiously relax trade restrictions, and, like the Marquis of Pombal in Portuguese Brazil, try unsuccessfully to eliminate excessive abuses that were to lead, early in the nineteenth century,

to armed revolt and the establishment of independent Latin American republics.

Meanwhile, a small, fiercely ambitious and loosely federalised republic, recently relieved of Spanish control, sought command of the world's sea routes. In Indonesian seas the Dutch ousted the Portuguese, and took over the greater part of their empire. Although far more businesslike than Spain, Holland had not the financial strength to maintain, in addition to a first-class navy, an army sufficient to withstand the invading forces of Louis XIV. By 1674 she had lost for a second time, and finally, her one strategic base in North America, New Amsterdam (New York).

Rivalry for empire became thereafter essentially a long-drawn duel between France and England, which was to become, in the eighteenth century, a struggle that embraced Asia as well as North America. In America the French saw from the beginning the strategic points that are vital to this day. They recognised the possibilities of a great circle of river and lake stretching from the St Lawrence River to Lake Michigan, and thence southward by the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. A successful policy of encirclement would enable them to shut the British behind the Appalachian chain of mountains, and ultimately give France the continent.

But only the most constant support in terms of men and supplies from Europe could have made the grand project feasible. Without secure communications French possessions in North America were bound to be hostages of the British navy, which after the battle of La Hogue gradually achieved an overall command of the seas. Determined to maintain her European hegemony, and at the same time build a great overseas empire, France fell between the two stools of imperial dreams and continental attachments.

In North America, the issue was fundamentally one of manpower. Had 50,000 Huguenots been forced, like the Puritans, to take refuge in Canada (instead of being barred from that country) French ambitions might have stood a chance of fulfilment. Had a mere half of one per cent of the French population of some 18,000,000 been persuaded to emigrate to Canada at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the colony would have gained the numerical strength which alone could justify imperial

policies of expansion. Against the weight of more than 2,000,000 British settlers, hemmed in the Atlantic coastal strip east of the Appalachian Mountains, a French colony of under 50,000 in 1755 could scarcely fulfil the designs of its explorers and governors. That New France was able to endure as long as it did was principally owing to professional troops and good organisation. Although unrecognised at the time, the beginnings of the 'Second Hundred Years War' for empire foretold the twilight of French American domination.

Meanwhile, the rivalry of France and Britain revealed itself as dramatically in India as in North America. When the English East India Company was incorporated on the last day of the sixteenth century, the power of the Muslims in India was reaching its zenith under the Moguls, invaders of Mongolian origin who had, under Babur in the early years of the sixteenth century, swept through the passes of the north-west frontier into the plains below. Under sovereigns like Akbar, English traders could do no more than cling precariously to the coastline in little factories whose existence depended on the favour of the local ruler. The Portuguese had long retired before the competition of the Dutch, whose concentration on the East Indies archipelago alone enabled the English to stick to such mainland trading outlets as Fort St George (Madras), Fort William (Calcutta) and Catherine of Braganza's dowry gift to Charles II, Bombay.

As a consequence of mounting corruption and inefficiency, the Mogul Empire was tottering long before French and English rivals for the spoils launched their Lilliputian forces against its imposing hulk. When the last great Mogul emperor, Aurangzeb, died in 1707, both the power and the glory had departed, and the way was open for France and Britain to struggle for an oriental heritage that neither Muslim nor Hindu was capable of sustaining.

As in North America, so in India, France lost out to Britain. Less skilful in native diplomacy, the British were able to combine land and naval power effectively, and allow to leadership an initiative that was denied the French paladins—Dupleix, Bussy, Lally and Suffren. In romance and wonder, the British conquest of a subcontinent with handfuls of European soldiers equals the Spanish

triumphs in Central and South America. Nearly a million square miles containing some 200,000,000 people—an area embracing religions and customs reaching back to fabulous antiquity—fell to an English company's arms. Everything which Europe and the New World had outlived, wrote J. R. Seeley in his *Expansion of England*, was still flourishing.

'... superstition, fatalism, polygamy, the most primitive priestcraft, the most primitive despotism; and threatening the northern frontier the vast Asiatic steppe with its Osbeks and Turcomans. Thus the same nation which reaches one hand towards the future of the globe and assumes the position of mediator between Europe and the New World, stretches the other hand towards the remotest past, becomes an Asiatic conqueror, and usurps the succession of the Great Mogul.' (1st ed. 1883, p.176).

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, practically the entire French Empire in the East and West had disappeared. Half the world, so it seemed to a later generation, had slipped through French hands like sand between the fingers. With the exception of some West Indian sugar islands and a few isolated posts on the Coromandel coast, France had been dispossessed of her imperial domain. Only if Britain, through some catastrophic upset of the balance of power, lost command of the sea, could France hope to wipe out her painful humiliation. As it happened, in 1778 a resuscitated French nation, subsequently joined by Spain, was in a position not only to challenge British superiority, but for a moment actually to win command of the sea. Bereft of allies and occupied with powerful enemies elsewhere, Britain had neither the ships, the materials, nor the men to subdue thirteen rebellious American colonies some 3,000 miles away. Nonetheless, by the end of the Napoleonic Wars the second British Empire overseas had not only survived, it had grown and consolidated itself into a world-wide business concern, which for the greater part of the nineteenth century European nations were content to accept.

Unlike the Americas, where, with the exception of Mexico and Peru, no organised states offered serious resistance to European arms, both China and Japan were able to withstand, and until the nineteenth century even to reject, the advances of the acquisi-

tive West. Although European traders had tried in the seventeenth century to breach the portals of China, they had little success. Apart from occasional loopholes like Canton, China remained impenetrable; her Manchu conquerors and rulers refused admission to the profit-seeking barbarians of the outer world except under humiliating restrictions.

The first openings had been made in 1521 when the Portuguese, who had occupied Malacca in 1511, sent a representative to Peking. Although expelled within a year, they were able in 1557 to establish a settlement in Macao, not far from Hong Kong. It remained a European look-out and trading entrepot for the China coast long after the Portuguese commercial empire had succumbed to the Dutch, who (five years after founding Batavia) established their Formosan base in 1624. Meanwhile, the Jesuits had begun to trickle in, led by the famous Matteo Ricci (1552-1610). But unfamiliar enthusiasm for converts resulted in their deportation to Macao. They returned around the middle of the century to enjoy the favour of the new Manchu dynasty and to make their great contributions to scientific learning. The Jesuit success represented, as Dr Jones has revealed, a unique partnership of East and West which was unhappily broken some fifty years later.

The Jesuits under St Francis Xavier (1506-52) had also introduced Christianity into Japan, and pioneer Portuguese traders were followed early in the seventeenth century by Dutch, Spanish and English. By 1620 it was estimated that some 300,000 Christians were living in the main Japanese islands. A few years later, however, a policy of national isolation was adopted, accompanied by a period of savage repression which saw the consolidation of Tokugawa rule. From about 1640 to the end of the century, a handful of Dutch and Chinese traders at Nagasaki represented Japan's only connection with the outside world.

Not until after the middle of the nineteenth century was Japan compelled to open her ports to foreign commerce and, with the collapse of the old feudal structure, to organise a national state on the Western pattern as the best means of ensuring freedom from Western domination and conquest.

When Hong Kong fell to the British navy, and 'Treaty Ports' opened the way

to European commerce in 1840-2, it seemed certain that China too would copy the manners and methods of the West. But the very nature of the Treaty Ports provoked reaction—they were in every case territorial concessions extracted by force, or the display of force, by the European nations strong enough to make a bid for influence in the Far East. The principal reason for establishing these bases was the pursuit of trade, the benefits from which seemed unlikely to be mutual. After the experience of the Opium Wars, the Chinese saw in foreign commercial enterprise the chief menace to her security and way of life. As subsequent events were to prove, their fears were more than justified. China had neither the will nor the aptitude of Japan for emulating and keeping step with the West. As a result China had to endure her 'century of humiliation' at foreign hands. The result was the rise of a bitter anti-foreign sentiment and, with the triumph of Communism, the closing of the doors once again. Today China remains the one civilisation outside the boundaries of the present international order, and one that is largely beyond Western comprehension.



America in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

The race for the new lands; the wealth of the Indies; Spanish viceroys; 'natural slaves' and the small voice of humanity; the dreadful solution—the third race; the Portuguese in Brazil; France and England in North America; the Red Indian; merchants, buccaneers, and fur traders; the first signs of conflict.

The discoveries of Columbus and the feats of Cortes and Pizarro excited the imagination of all Europe. Soon other nations were sending expeditions across the Atlantic in the wake of the Spaniards. Extravagant hopes of finding new kingdoms built of gold rapidly faded, but settlers quickly accommodated themselves to exploiting the more

lasting wealth of forest and soil. Throughout the seventeenth century Britain, France, Spain and Portugal steadily developed their colonies in North and South America. Competition inevitably brought friction, and by 1700 the European powers were already beginning a titanic struggle for the control of a hemisphere.

This fine statue of a mermaid illustrates both the interest and the fantasies awakened in European minds by the discovery of the New World overseas. (Museu da Cidade, Lisbon.)

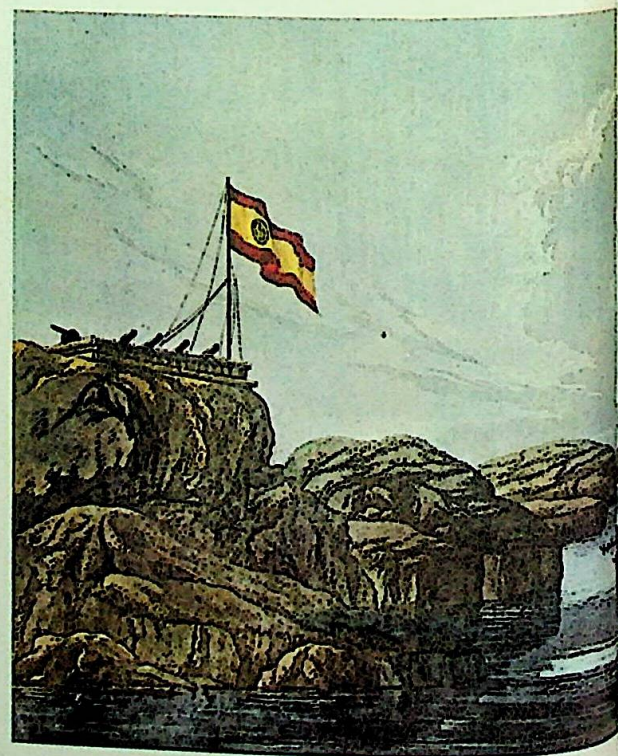


Latin America after the Conquest

There is no other event in human history quite like the Spanish discoveries and conquests in the western hemisphere. Unknown continents, hidden empires, fabulous wealth—it all seemed much more like fantasy than reality. But it was reality, and the Spanish monarchs were faced with the task of ruling over vast new lands, greater in area and more populous than Spain itself. How were the new territories to be governed?

The *encomiendas*

It was the system first developed for ruling over conquered Spanish Muslims that the conquistadors now extended to the American Indians. By royal grants, specified numbers of Indian households would be 'entrusted' to individual captains, officers and even foot soldiers in the conquering Spanish army. These grants were called *encomiendas*, and the *encomendero* who

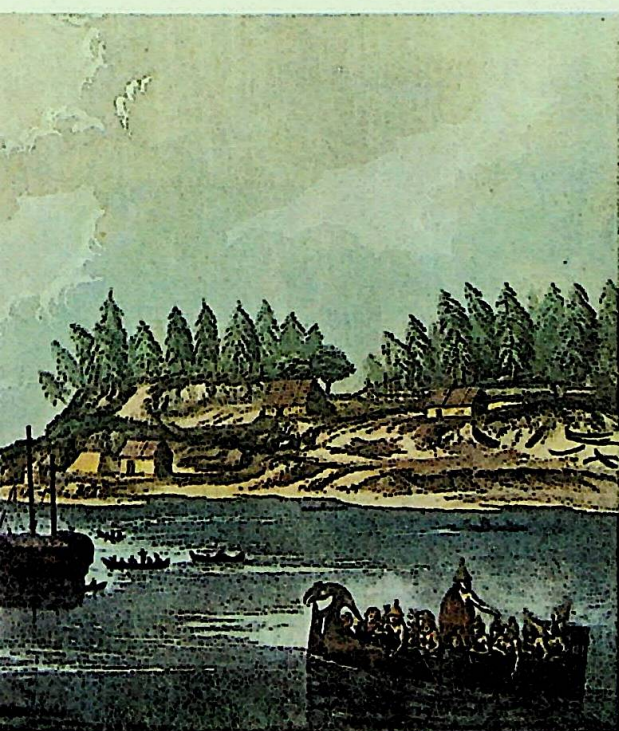
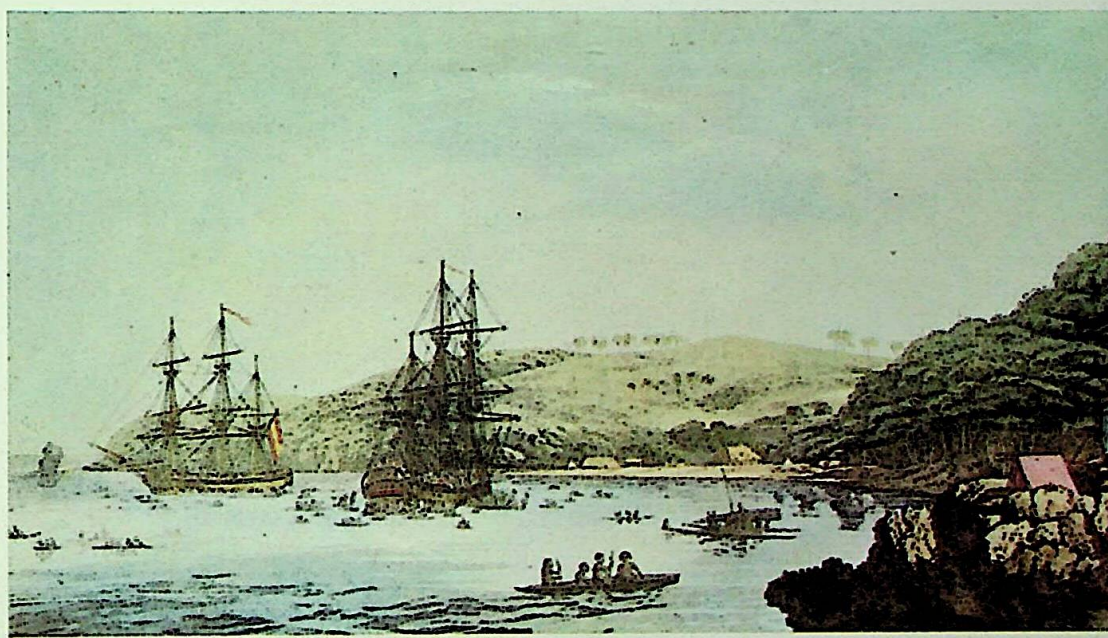




*Scenes from the Indies where 'the valiant Spaniards have conquered . . . innumerable provinces, kingdoms and nations'.
Left: the Cordillera of the Andes, stretching from the northern to the southern tip of South America.*

Below: two Spanish sloops dropping anchor in a small bay.

Below left: a battery of five guns, beneath the Spanish flag, guards another small harbour. (Torre del Oro, Seville.)



received one would then build his estate, and maintain his family and his personal following from the tribute in produce and in labour that the Indians entrusted to him would be forced to pay.

Many such 'grants were of truly princely extent. Cortes, for instance, received a domain containing over 100,000 Indians and sprawling over 25,000 square miles. Pizarro's was equally magnificent, and the other Spaniards were rewarded in accordance with their ranks. But the *encomiendas* were basically allotments of people, rather than feudal grants of land. Indeed, the conquistadors did not usually desire a rural life and, in true Spanish fashion, began laying out cities and villages almost as soon as they had arrived. The *encomendero*, therefore, would often live in a town and simply inform the various Indian head men of his *encomienda* how much tribute he expected to receive. The headmen, or *caciques* as they were known, would then have the onerous duty of raising the produce and labour for their overlords, as well as a little extra to keep for themselves. This, then,

was the manner in which the conquering Spanish army spread its authority over the native population of the New World.

The assertion of royal authority

Despite the great distance of the Indies from Spain, and despite their own relative ignorance about their new dominions, the Spanish monarchs were from the beginning quite determined that royal authority in those territories should be real and not merely titular. They therefore regarded the early adventurers like Cortes and Pizarro with extreme suspicion—as men who might be tempted into becoming over-mighty subjects.

Thus, in the wake of the conquistadors, came the king's men, who were to rule the two huge viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru on behalf of their royal masters.

In Spain itself, various organs of government were hastily established. The *Casa de Contratación*, or Board of Trade, was set up in Seville to supervise all commerce between



Above: an eighteenth-century view of Seville. By then the city had lost its primacy to Cadiz, but originally Seville had monopolised all colonial commerce.

Right: the oared half-galley, mounting cannon and swivel-guns, was the last representative of a nautical family with a pedigree of 2500 years. Unsuitable for the open ocean, Spanish oared ships, or xebecs, were used for coast-guard purposes in the Caribbean.

Far right, top and bottom: small Spanish sloops. In the centre is a powerful galleon, mounting 112 guns. (Torre del Oro, Seville.)

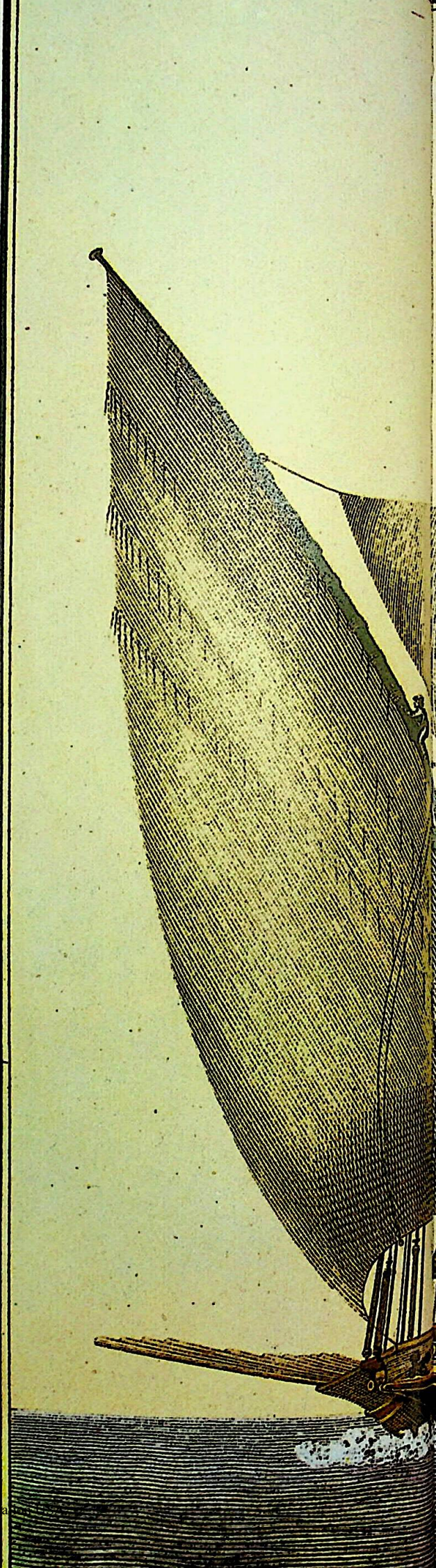
the homeland and the new colonies. But the Casa was soon placed under the aegis of another, more powerful, body, the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, subject only to the king and created by the emperor Charles V in 1524. The Council, consisting originally of only four or five members, continued in existence until 1834, and throughout most of this long period was an efficient and hard-working body of high prestige.

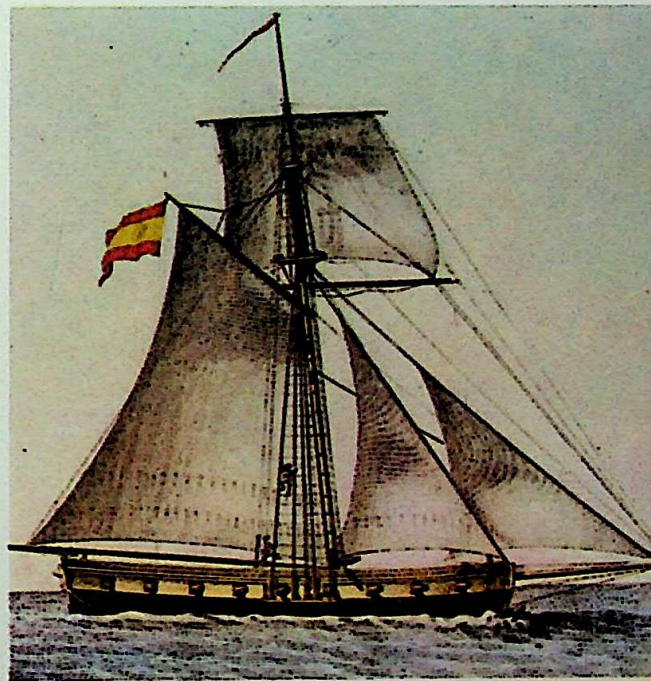
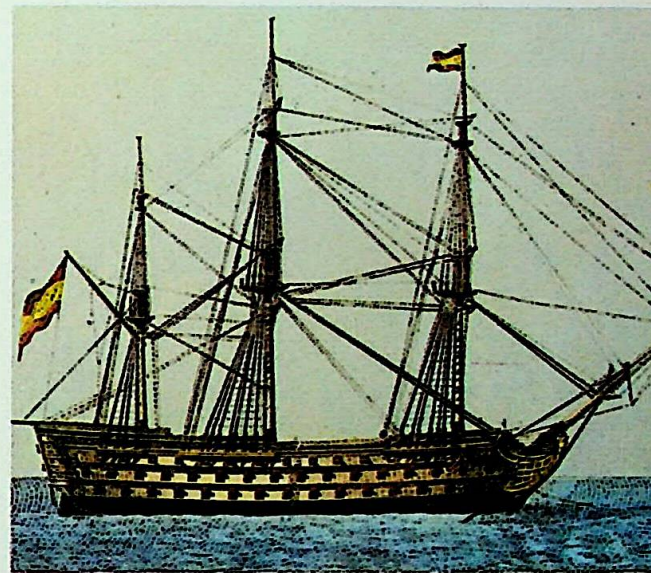
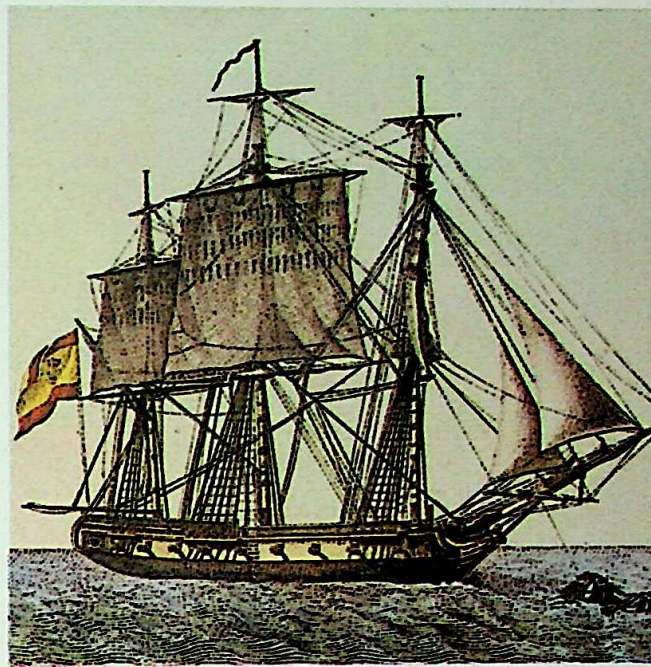
In America the viceroys arrived to set the king's recently won domains in order. Antonio de Mendoza arrived in Mexico in 1535, after an unruly period marked by the atrocities of the ferocious Nuño de Guzmán and by the attempts of Cortes to exercise real power. In his long administration of fifteen years Mendoza ruled well, consolidating Spanish imperial authority and attempting to protect the Indians from the abuses of many *encomenderos*. At a slightly later date, from 1569 to 1581, Francisco de Toledo played a similar role in Peru. Both men laboured ably to bring order out of a relative chaos and both men left

behind them an established system of government that was hardly to be altered until the end of the colonial period. It was a cleverly designed system of checks and balances constructed to limit the accumulation of power in the hands of any one man or body of men, and to ensure that royal authority was felt down to the very lowest levels of administration. In this it succeeded. The whole complex structure will be dealt with in a later chapter. For the moment suffice it to say that other colonial empires were more successfully administered from the point of view of the colonists, none better than the Spanish from the point of view of their kings.

The wealth of the Indies

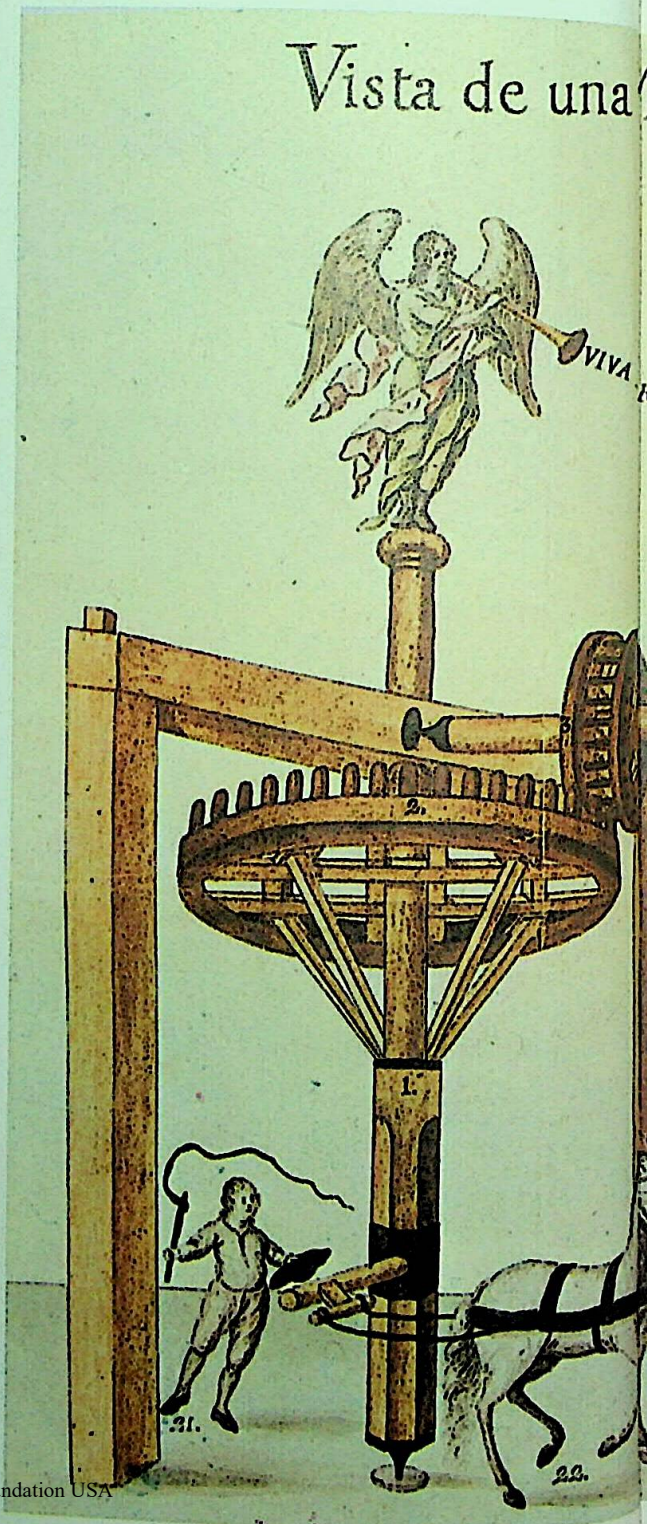
It was the Spanish discovery of precious metals that first convinced the world that America was something more than just a colossal barricade astride the sea route to the Orient. And the wealth that was found there was truly astonishing, arousing the cupidity and wonder of all Europe. Some





Below left: a diagrammatic picture of Amerindian life under colonial rule, from a drawing by John White. The Indians in an idyllically neat village are engaged in typical activities such as hunting, religious worship, and the growing of maize and squashes. (Bibliothèque du Service hydrographique de la Marine, Paris.)

Below: an equally diagrammatic representation of a machine for manufacturing tobacco in the Royal Factory of Mexico. As time went by, cash crops such as tobacco, sugar and coffee proved as great sources of revenue as did the silver of the mines. (Archivo General de Indias, Seville.)



alluvial gold was early located on the island of Hispaniola. After that came the accumulated treasures of the Aztec and Inca domains, then the discovery of the great silver mines. In 1545 took place the most stupendous mineral discovery ever made by man. At Potosí, in Bolivia, was uncovered an actual mountain of silver. And by 1558 the three most important mines in Mexico were in operation.

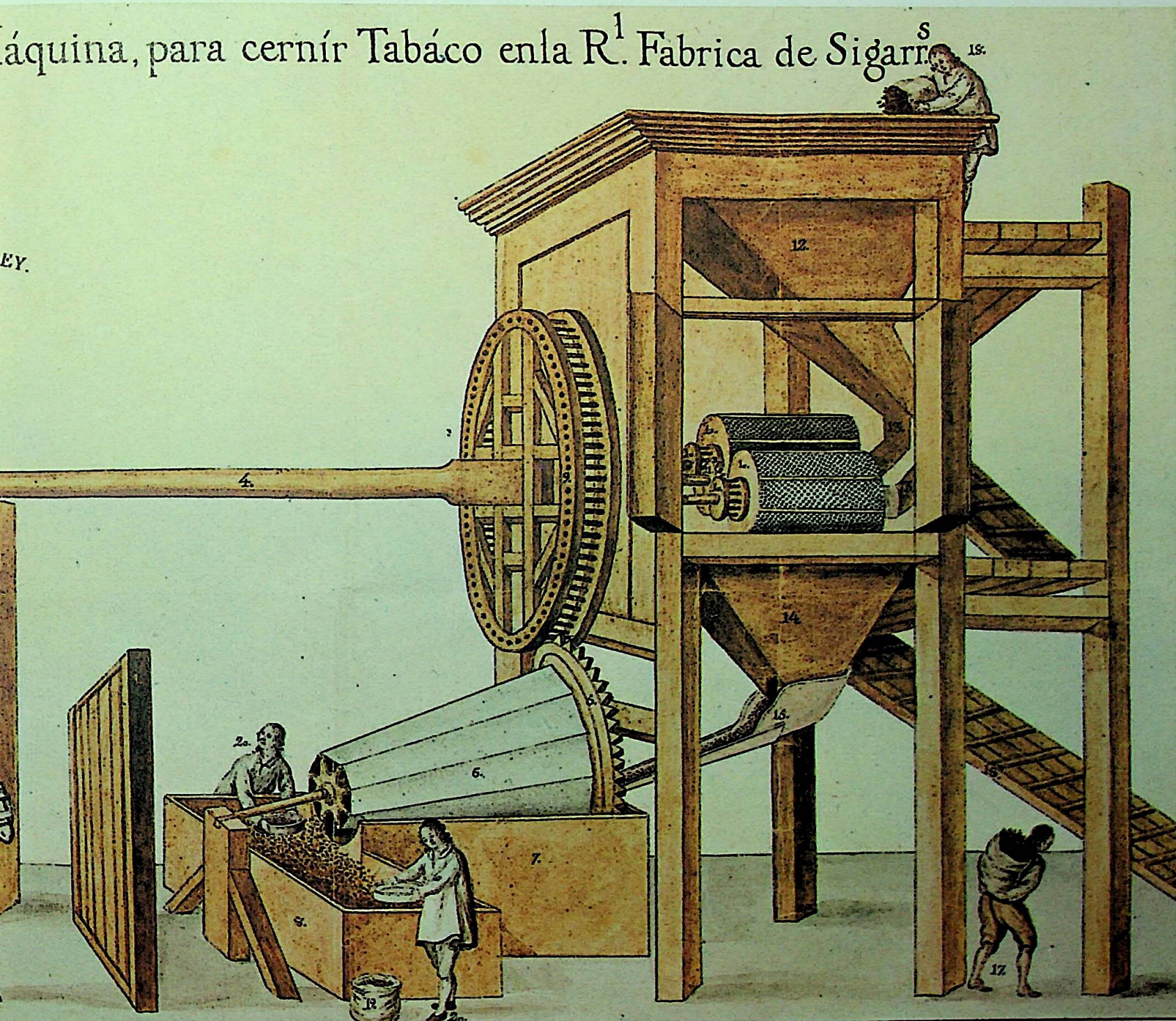
But the wealth of the Indies was by no means restricted to minerals. Pearls and cochineal were important, but in the long run agricultural produce proved the most valuable of all. Not only were numerous varieties of crops of both New and Old

World origin grown throughout the Spanish Empire, but also cash crops for export. Cotton, tobacco, sugar and dye-woods eventually produced more money than the mines.

To bring such riches home, the Spaniards evolved their famous trading system. Once or twice a year, two great fleets, laden with European manufactures, would leave Spain for the New World. One of these would proceed to Vera Cruz, the chief port of New Spain; the other would sail to Nombre de Dios (or later to Porto Bello) on the north coast of South America, whence the goods it carried would be shipped overland to Peru. Then, laden with the produce of the

New World, the southerly fleet would refit in the great fortified harbour of Cartagena before keeping rendezvous with the other, returning from Vera Cruz, in the equally fortified Havana. From there, the combined fleet would continue, under escort of galleons, back to Spain. There were other trade routes as well; Peruvian silver went to the Philippines, and there was inter-colonial trade between Peru and New Spain. But, of course, it was the transatlantic fleets, laden with silver, which were the most famous and which aroused the greed of pirates, privateers and men-of-war from the time of Drake until the latter part of the eighteenth century.

áquina, para cernir Tabáco en la R.¹ Fabrica de Sigarr.^s



Despite its early attempts to protect the Amerindians from the settlers, the Spanish American clergy, with the exception of the Jesuits, became increasingly opulent and wordly.

Right: a clergyman, apparently not over-endowed with the virtues of humility and charity, with a young page carrying his train.

Extreme right: another child servant, in this case a Negro slave, chained in a manner which permitted him to run errands, but made it difficult for him to run away. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



The Church and the Indians

All European nations colonising the New World claimed that one of their principal objects was the Christianisation and civilisation of the Amerindians, but only the Spaniards took this seriously. This was partially owing to the character of the Indians they encountered. Once settlers were fighting them for their lives, they quickly lost all ideas of converting the red men. Even in the Spanish Empire, so-called 'wild' Indians, like the Araucanians of Chile, received short shrift. But the conquest of the great Aztec and Inca domains produced a different type of situation. Here, after a brief resistance, large populations of settled Indians were completely helpless and at the mercy of their conquerors. How should these people be treated? There were two main alternatives: that they should be forced to support their rulers and to labour for them in field and in mines—for if the Spanish settlers were clear about nothing else, they were determined to avoid manual labour—or on the other hand the Indians could be looked upon as a harmless people whose welfare had been entrusted to the

Spaniards by God. The first of these points of view was generally adopted by the settlers; the second by the majority of the priests and missionaries. Between these alternatives, the Spanish monarchs vacillated, their consciences genuinely torn in two directions.

Even before the mainland conquests, the Spanish settlers had been committing atrocities against the Indians on the island of Hispaniola. As early as 1511 the Dominican friar, Antonio des Montesinos, had spoken out. Using the text 'I am a voice crying in the wilderness', he denounced his own congregation, declaring: 'You are in mortal sin for the cruelty and tyranny you use in dealing with these innocent people.' After the exploits of Cortes and Pizarro, the problem was immensely sharpened. Bishops like Juan de Zumárraga and Vasco de Quiroga gained control of the *audiencia* of New Spain and overthrew the atrocious rule of Nuño de Guzmán. Others denounced the *encomiendas*, which in fact if not in theory made Indians into slaves. Worse still was the *repartimiento* or forced labour system. Friar Motolinia described with horror the scenes near the mines of New

Spain where: '... it was hardly possible to walk except over dead men or bones and so great were the numbers of birds and the buzzards that came to eat the bodies of the dead that they cast a huge shadow over the sun'.

The most heroic champion of the Indians was the great Bartolomé de las Casas. Born in 1474, las Casas had arrived in America as a soldier of fortune as early as 1502. He prospered and gained control of much land and many Indians, but at the age of forty, when ordained as a priest, las Casas came to feel that he had been taking part in a monstrous crime. A vigorous, astute man, he made most of his appeals directly to the Crown, which held supreme jurisdiction over both the Indians and the Church.

Through the influence of the Crown, las Casas and his allies gained significant victories for their cause. The Inquisition, although extended to Spanish settlers in the New World, was given no authority over the Indians. Their denunciation of the abuses of the *encomiendas* resulted in a series of new laws for the Indies promulgated in 1542 by the emperor Charles V.





Although Spain did not organise a proper colonial militia until the eighteenth century, local volunteers and even slaves were recruited to defend the overseas possessions. Above: black, white and mulatto—all serving in the West Indian regiment. Centre: colonial cavalry was usually noted for its untrained horses which panicked under fire. (Archivo General de Indias, Seville.) Right: two colourful soldiers from the Portuguese garrison in Mozambique, East Africa. (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon.)



These insisted that all forms of Indian slavery should be ended, while other provisions, if acted upon, would have virtually abolished the whole *encomienda* system. However, as might be expected, this called forth stubborn resistance from the settlers. In New Spain, even the conscientious Mendoza advised that the colony might be lost if the laws were enforced. In Peru, the clumsy attempt to institute them immediately made by the first viceroy, Vasco Núñez, resulted in a full-scale rebellion led by Gonzalo Pizarro, one of the two surviving brothers of the old conquistador. Pizarro was quickly defeated and beheaded, and royal authority restored, but it was clear the new laws would have to be revised. In 1547, another series of decrees restored the *encomiendas* although curtailing rights of inheritance associated with them, but the prohibition of Indian slavery was allowed to stand.

In 1547, las Casas, aged 72, finally left America to battle against any reversal of policy, and to argue against Juan Gines de Sepulveda, a theologian who was insisting that the Indians were an inferior people and were 'natural slaves' in the Aristotelian sense. Las Casas was immediately aroused. In the first place, he was in no way intimidated by Aristotle whom he described as a 'gentile burning in hell, whose doctrine we do not need to follow except in so far as it conforms with Christian truth'. In the second place, he claimed that even if one accepted Aristotle's ideas, they did not apply to the Amerindians who were clearly rational beings. In 1550, las Casas and Sepulveda met in Valladolid in a great debate on the issue, and until it was decided, Charles V forbade all further Spanish conquests in America.

The debate itself was a moral victory for las Casas, and Sepulveda was not allowed to publish his own doctrines afterwards. Yet the problem was never to be resolved by a clear edict from Charles V or from any of his successors. The Spanish monarchs were indeed in a cleft stick. Their consciences took the side of the Indians, but their minds could not forget the silver. And to the kings the wealth of the Indies had an important religious use—they saw themselves as the secular champions of Roman Catholicism, and the riches of the New World helped create the armies with which they fought both Protestants and Turks. What they really wanted was a world that could never be—one where the Indian would not be exploited and would gently be led to Christianity and where the silver would mine itself. Since they could not have this, the kings temporised, and attempted both to please the settlers and to protect the Indian. They failed in each case.

It was only in a land where no great mineral wealth was to be found that the Spanish Church in America was temporarily able to achieve its ideal. In the La Plata

basin, from 1605 on, Spanish Jesuits built up a huge mission centre containing some 100,000 Indians. Here they constructed a benevolent, theocratic despotism where every aspect of the daily life of the Indians was conducted under the strict supervision of the priests. The Paraguay mission was the only really large area conducted under such principles, but numerous other missions on the frontiers of New Spain and Peru created similar communities on a smaller scale. The rigid and narrow paternalistic rule of the priests meant that these areas were hardly idyllic, but they certainly constituted a nobler form of experiment than that of the *encomienda*.

Catastrophe

There was one curious way in which the dilemma of Spanish-Indian relations could be resolved—by the exploitation of a third race. Within a few years of the discovery of America the infamous Atlantic slave trade had begun. To relieve one people from oppression by oppressing another seems strange logic but the Spaniard of the time saw a difference. The American Indians he had conquered were clearly his own responsibility; but, owning no possessions in continental Africa, he was only indirectly concerned with the Negro. He did not enslave Negroes himself, but merely bought people already captured by the Portuguese. The ageing las Casas and a few others raised their voices against the iniquity of such fine distinctions, but on the whole, Spanish opinion in all circles was overwhelmingly indifferent to the plight of the Negroes.

The enslaving of the Negro, however, did not save the American Indian. Nothing saved the Indian. Shortly after the conquest, the whole population structure of New Spain began to tremble, to shake and, finally, to disintegrate. The main cause was disease. Smallpox, measles, consumption, malaria and yellow fever, all these were brought to the New World from the Old by Europeans and Africans, and ravaged a people who had no natural immunities to them. Perhaps 25,000,000 Indians dwelt in New Spain in pre-conquest days. By the mid-sixteenth century, this figure had slipped to 6,500,000; by 1580, it was perhaps 1,900,000. Whole villages died out, vast areas went out of cultivation, and the whole of New Spain seemed destined to become a desert. Finally, in the seventeenth century, this horrific population decline was halted and reversed, but the new population was largely of mestizo, or half-breed, rather than of pure Indian stock.

Much of the cultural heritage of the Indians of New Spain disappeared even faster than the peoples themselves. By the mid-seventeenth century, it was at last clear that the Catholic missionaries were winning great successes in the conversion of this vanishing people. In their vast desolation

of soul, the Indians turned to the new religion, although keeping many of their own customs and rituals. Soon only monuments to the past remained—and the great statues and temples built to the various gods of the old Aztec pantheon would stare dumbly through the centuries over the people whom they had not saved, and who increasingly knew them not. The Indian heritage of the Mexican people would reassert itself in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. At the end of the seventeenth it seemed to have been buried for ever.

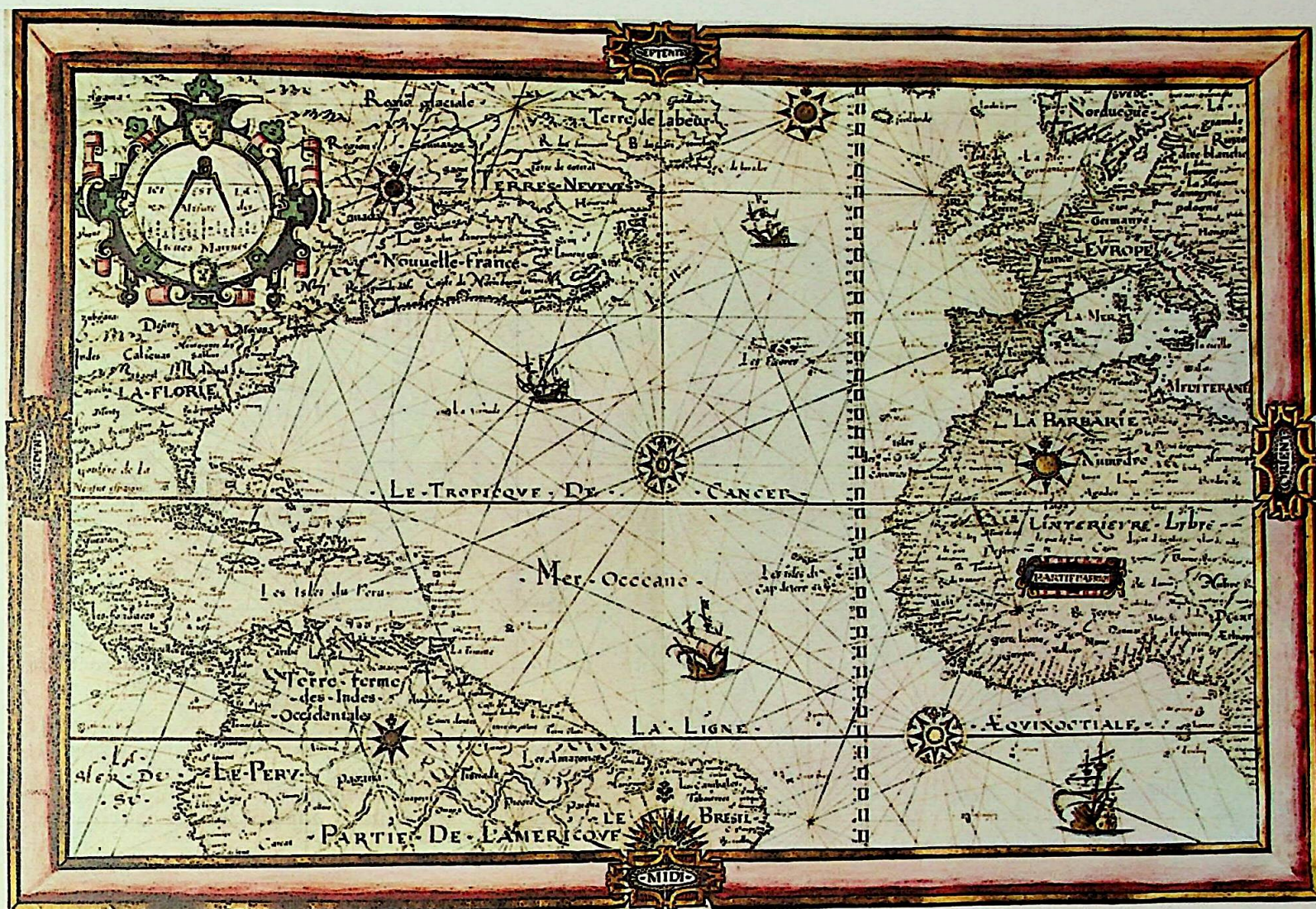
Decline of Empire

The tremendous decline of the American Indian population, and consequently the New World labour force, was naturally reflected in all facets of colonial life. But the problem did not stop there, for the whole of the Spanish Empire, in the Old World as well as in the New, underwent a truly precipitous decline. In the sixteenth century, Spain had not only been the greatest power in Europe, but had had only one conceivable rival for world empire—Portugal, which was finally absorbed by Philip II in 1580. Yet, in less than eighty years, all the power and glory of the Spain of Philip II had shrunk to the cardboard kingdom of Charles II—perhaps the most pathetic reversal of national fortunes in European history.

Of all of the manifold causes of the decline of old Spain, two stand out sharply: war and the lack of economic development. The seemingly inexhaustible stream of wealth from America encouraged the aggressive tendencies of the Habsburg monarchs, and their wars soon ate up that wealth and much more besides. Similarly, the inflow of silver at first stimulated the Spanish economy, but soon rising prices and costs ruined Spain as an economic competitor in Europe; Spanish industry first stagnated and then fell into complete decrepitude. Things were bad even at the end of the sixteenth century when silver imports from America were at their height, but soon the supply of silver began to dry up and Spain slipped from periodic to hopeless bankruptcy.

Everything seemed to work into a vortex spiralling downwards. Spanish mercantile policy, like that of the other European nations, had aimed at keeping the whole of the colonial trade in the hands of the mother country, but Spain simply could not manufacture the goods that the colonists wanted in exchange for their silver and agricultural produce. This increased costs enormously and encouraged smuggling by the English, French and Dutch. As Spanish power and commerce declined, so did the Spanish navy, and the smuggling could not be checked. By the seventeenth century, the Spanish concept of mercantilism had proved a complete failure.

In the New World, the depopulation at



Above: an early French map of the New World. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Catholicism was very important in all walks of life in Latin America.
Below left: a couple of mendicant monks. (Museu da Cidade, Lisbon.)



least solved the old controversy over the *encomiendas*. As the Indians disappeared so did the tribute on which the *encomienda* system was based. The new economic order that emerged was based on the *hacienda* and on peonage.

There was also a decline in government and administration in the Indies. Philip II had taken a close and consistent interest in his colonial empire; his increasingly weaker successors, Philip III, Philip IV and Charles II, cared less and less. More and more considerations of merit disappeared with regard to appointments and offices were bought and sold like any other form of property. Nevertheless, the decline in the Indies did not proceed nearly so far, nor so rapidly, as the decline in Spain itself. Similarly, when a period of recovery came in the eighteenth century the Spanish possessions in the New World advanced much more rapidly than those in the Old.

Portuguese Brazil

By the treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, Portuguese territory was to include all land within 370 leagues of a line drawn west of the Cape Verde islands. The Portuguese hoped that this area would contain the mythical continent of Atlantis. It did not, but in April of 1500, Pedro Alvarez Cabral discovered, within the demarcation limits, the coast of Brazil and claimed it for Portugal.

Devoting most of her overseas energies towards the Indian Ocean, Portugal did little at first to develop her new colony. Indeed, she managed to keep possession of it only because it seemed so unimportant economically, producing little more than some dye-woods. Even so, English, and especially French, interlopers gave trouble but were finally evicted. Then came a modest boom in sugar cultivation. Portuguese sugar planters had long been prospering on the

African island of São Tomé, but in the fifteen-seventies slave revolts led many of them to emigrate to Brazil. This greatly encouraged the Atlantic slave trade and also made Brazil look more attractive to alien powers. When, in 1580, the Portuguese Empire was swallowed by the Spanish this event not only demoralised Portuguese Brazilians, it also meant that Spain's enemies descended upon them as well. Further French incursions were finally ended in 1615, but the Dutch were more successful. After a few abortive attempts in the early part of the seventeenth century, they gained a firm foothold at Recife in 1630. Within a few years they managed to gain control of some 1,200 miles of Brazilian coastline. The Dutch, particularly during the wise administration of John Maurice of Nassau, guaranteed the property rights and religious liberties of the Portuguese planters. The colony therefore prospered during the period of occupation, but when Portugal freed herself from Spain in 1640, this provoked a nationalist reaction in Brazil as well. Revolts broke out against alien rule, and after fourteen years of warfare, the Dutch withdrew.

Once again under Portuguese dominion, Brazil continued to prosper on the basis of sugar and cotton. It was not until the eighteenth century, however, with the discovery of gold and diamonds, that the colony was to attain its real importance.

North America

In the seventeenth century, the English, French and Dutch infringed the Spanish monopoly of the western hemisphere, and eventually established colonies in the West Indies that were to grow rich on the labour of African slaves. Farther north, attracted by the fur trade, the French founded an immense empire that stretched from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico. The English moved more slowly so far as territory was concerned, but much more rapidly with regard to settlement. By the century's end, they had heavily populated the eastern seaboard of North America from Maine to the Carolinas.

Early explorations

The Cabot voyage of 1497 had given England some claim to North America. That of Verrazano in 1523 did the same for France. Then, between 1534 and 1541, the French seaman, Jacques Cartier, made a remarkable series of voyages that carried him up the St Lawrence river as far as Montreal. Throughout the sixteenth century, a number of English navigators searched unsuccessfully for a north-west passage to Asia in the wastes of the Canadian Arctic. The purpose of all these early explorations was to find a sea route to the east, or to discover rich Indian empires, thus duplicating the Spanish feats in Mexico and Peru.

As such hopes faded, thoughts turned more soberly to projects of colonisation. During the last of Cartier's voyages Roberval, a French nobleman, brought out a party of settlers to Canada. But this attempt at colonisation proved an ignominious failure, and twenty years later a settlement of French Protestants in Florida was cruelly exterminated by the Spaniards.

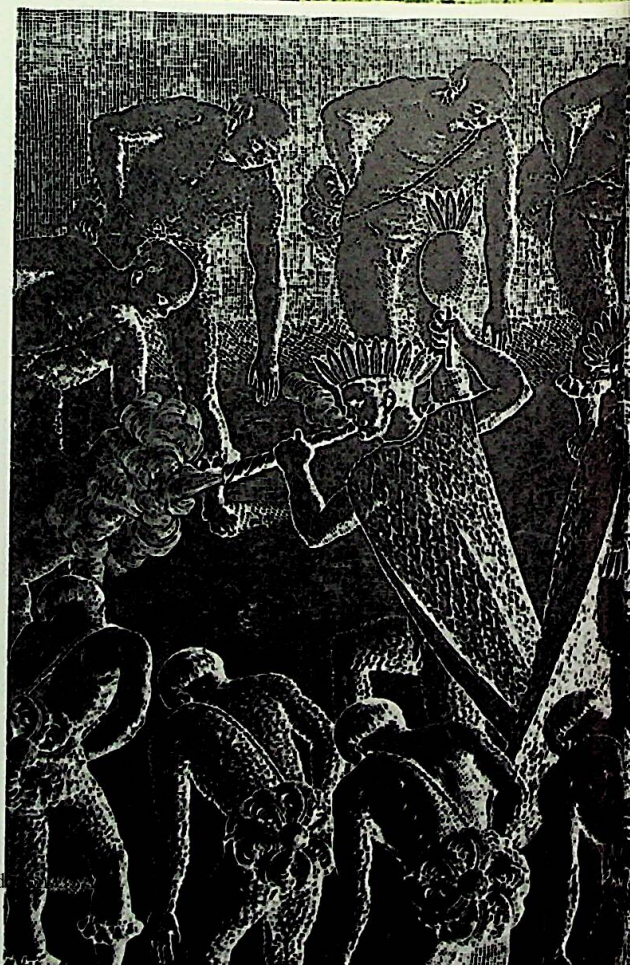
The next series of attempts were made by the English. The half-brothers, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir Walter Raleigh, had experimented with planting settlements in Ireland, and hoped to apply their experience to the New World. In 1583, Gilbert formally claimed Newfoundland for the English, but his attempt at settlement farther south was ended when storms wrecked his ships and Gilbert himself was drowned. Raleigh took up Gilbert's project and in the next few years three small groups of settlers were placed on or in the neighbourhood of Roanoke Island, in the area that he named Virginia. But all of them were to perish, and it was not until the next century that the English, French and Dutch established themselves successfully in North America.

The French in Canada

French interest in the New World lagged for some time after Roberval's fiasco, but there were always those who thought of the possible profit that might arise from a monopoly of the fur trade. After an experiment in Nova Scotia, in 1608 Samuel de Champlain, founded the city of Quebec on the St Lawrence river. With its citadel strategically built on the top of a cliff, and commanding the one great river system penetrating from the Atlantic to the heart of the continent, Quebec was to be the bastion of France in the New World.

Champlain was one of the greatest inland explorers of modern times. Driven by idealistic visions of empire, yet immensely practical as well, he pushed inland as far as the Great Lakes and southward down the Richelieu River, organising the fur trade as he went. He also engaged deeply in Indian diplomacy, and in 1609 formed the alliance between the French and the Hurons and Algonquins against the Iroquois, thus beginning the century and a half of conflict between the French and the latter formidable tribal federation.

At first, the fur trade was run in a haphazard manner, but in 1627, Cardinal Richelieu organised the famous Company of New France. The new association had great ambitions but was involved in immediate disaster. War broke out with England, and the buccaneering Kirke brothers both captured Quebec and destroyed the expedition bringing settlers and provisions in which the company had invested most of its initial capital. Quebec was given back to France in 1632, and Champlain returned





The early explorers hoped to establish good relations with the Indians.

Left: a heavily romanticised picture of awed natives laying the produce of the New World at the feet of the French. (Bibliothèque de Service hydrographique de la Marine, Paris.)

Below: a ceremonial Indian dance organised for the benefit of gawking Europeans. From an engraving by Théodore de Bry. (Academia das Ciencias, Lisbon.)



as governor. But the great explorer died three years later, and the Company of New France had been greatly weakened. It was reorganised in the sixteen-forties, however, and began to show a profit. Nevertheless, the number of settlers in New France was minuscule, and the colony was soon racked by disastrous wars with the Iroquois. Not until the reign of Louis XIV did the fortunes of New France revive.

The English in the south

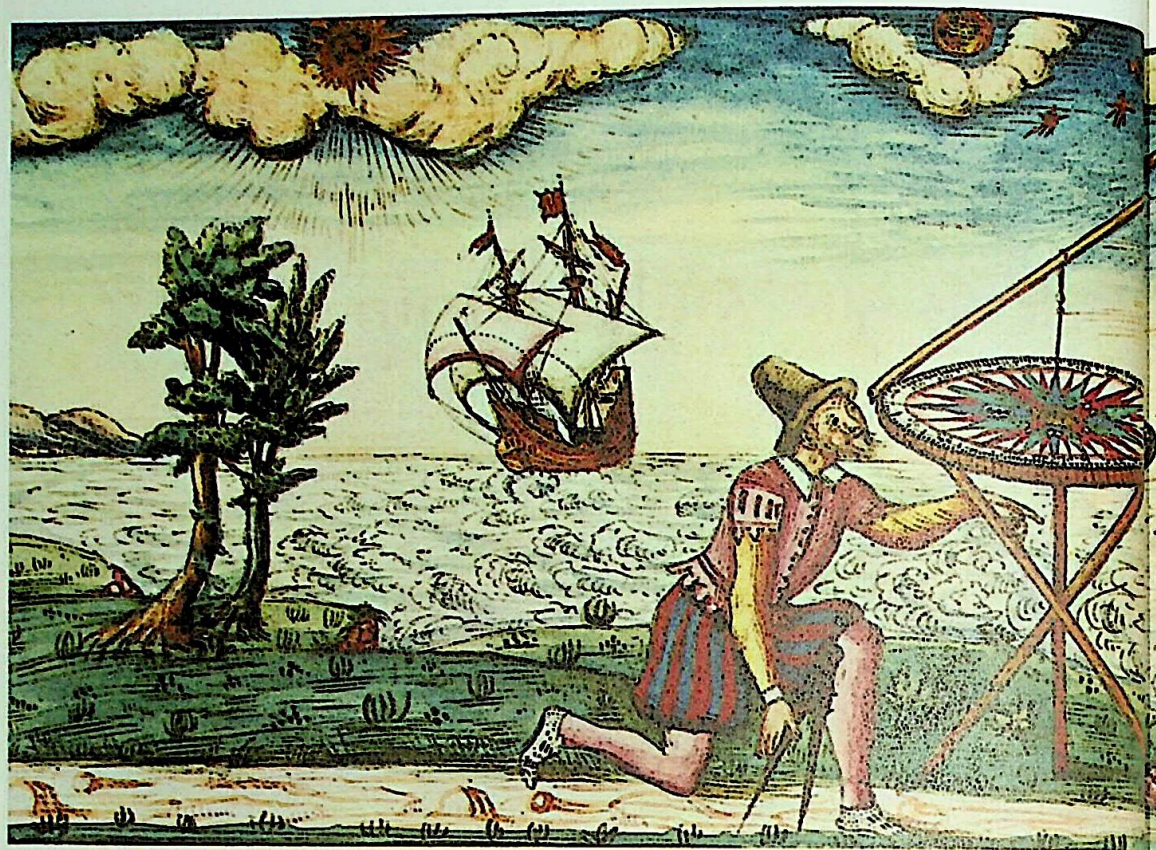
Raleigh's interests in the New World were eventually taken up by an organisation which ultimately became known as the Virginia Company and was placed under the presidency of Sir Thomas Smyth, a great merchant adventurer. In 1607 Captain Christopher Newport took out a group of settlers on behalf of the company and near the mouth of Chesapeake Bay founded Jamestown, the first permanent English settlement in America. In the first year of its existence the new colony nearly perished through starvation and malaria, but the energetic Captain John Smith managed to keep things going, while his own life was

saved, on the occasion of his capture by the Indian chief Powhatan, by the famous and timely intervention of Pocahontas, the chief's daughter.

The Virginia Company had aspired to quick profits through the discovery of gold mines, or from the production of wine and silk. These hopes proved illusory, but in 1612 a settler named John Rolph, who had married Pocahontas, began to grow tobacco. To the horror of King James I, the production of this 'vile weed' proved the salvation of the colony and the foundation of its future prosperity. The harsh but necessary period of stern military rule and of communal ownership of land was finally brought to an end. Settlers were given their own allotments, and the government placed in the hands of a civil governor and council responsible to the Virginia Company. The colonists themselves were allowed representation in an elected House of Assembly. The establishment of this form of administration, which became a pattern for all the British colonies, was ultimately to be of immense importance.

The Virginia Company was not destined to be as successful as the colony itself.

The expansion of Europe was made possible by the development of better navigational techniques. In earlier centuries, mariners out of sight of land for long periods would become hopelessly lost. However, by the sixteenth century, latitude could be calculated by observing the position of the sun and stars with instruments such as the astrolabes (right and below), and the hemisphere (far right). The problem of longitude remained unsolved until the eighteenth century. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Despite several reorganisations and schemes for the raising of capital, it began to founder financially. In 1624, King James I assumed royal responsibility for the colony; company rule had ended. Meanwhile, Bermuda had been discovered by accident when settlers going to Virginia were shipwrecked on the island. More important was the founding of Maryland in 1632, by Cecil Calvert, the second Lord Baltimore. Maryland, established on the side of Chesapeake Bay opposite Virginia, was granted as a proprietorship, and this gave Lord Baltimore wide feudal powers over the land. He hoped that the colony would be commercially successful and also a haven for his fellow Roman Catholics, and in a small way it proved to be both. Marylanders were soon cultivating tobacco, and economically the colony resembled a miniature Virginia. Roman Catholics were never in a majority among the settlers; however, there was no Established Anglican Church and, distinct from their position in any other English dominions at the time, the Catholics enjoyed equal rights and freedom of religion.

The Dutch on the Hudson River

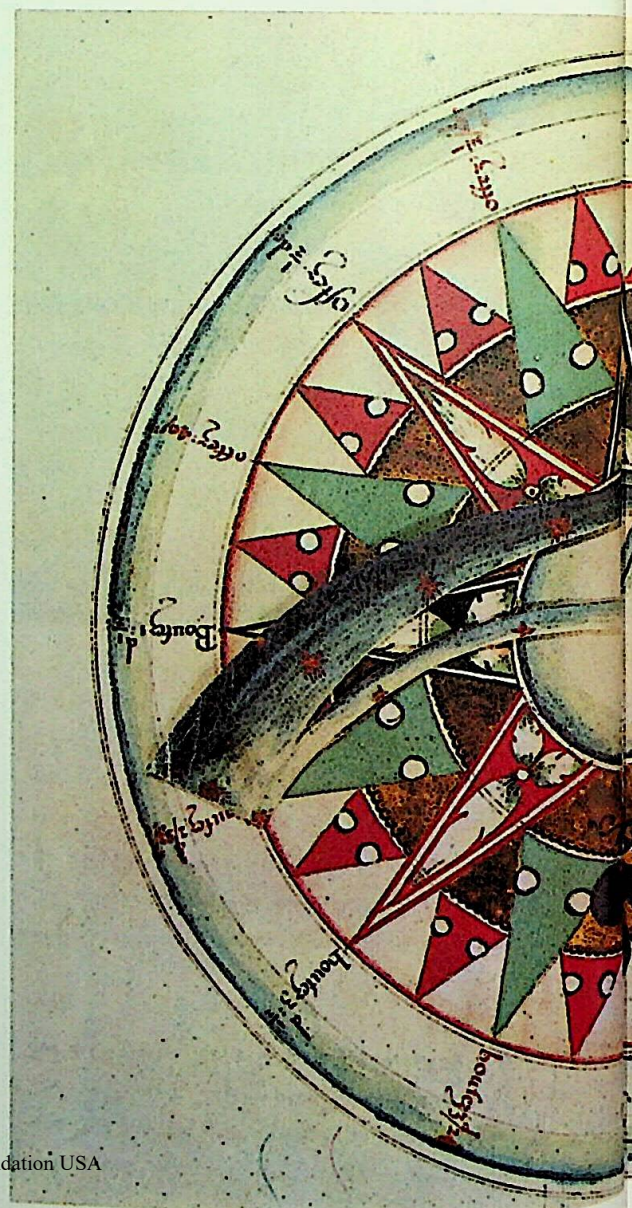
A few Dutch traders and settlers had been active on the Hudson River since Henry Hudson had explored that area on their behalf in 1609. The original New Netherlands Company was slow in taking up any advantages, but the great Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621, began to activate matters. In 1626, Peter Minuit bought Manhattan Island from the local Indians; shortly afterwards an embryonic Swedish

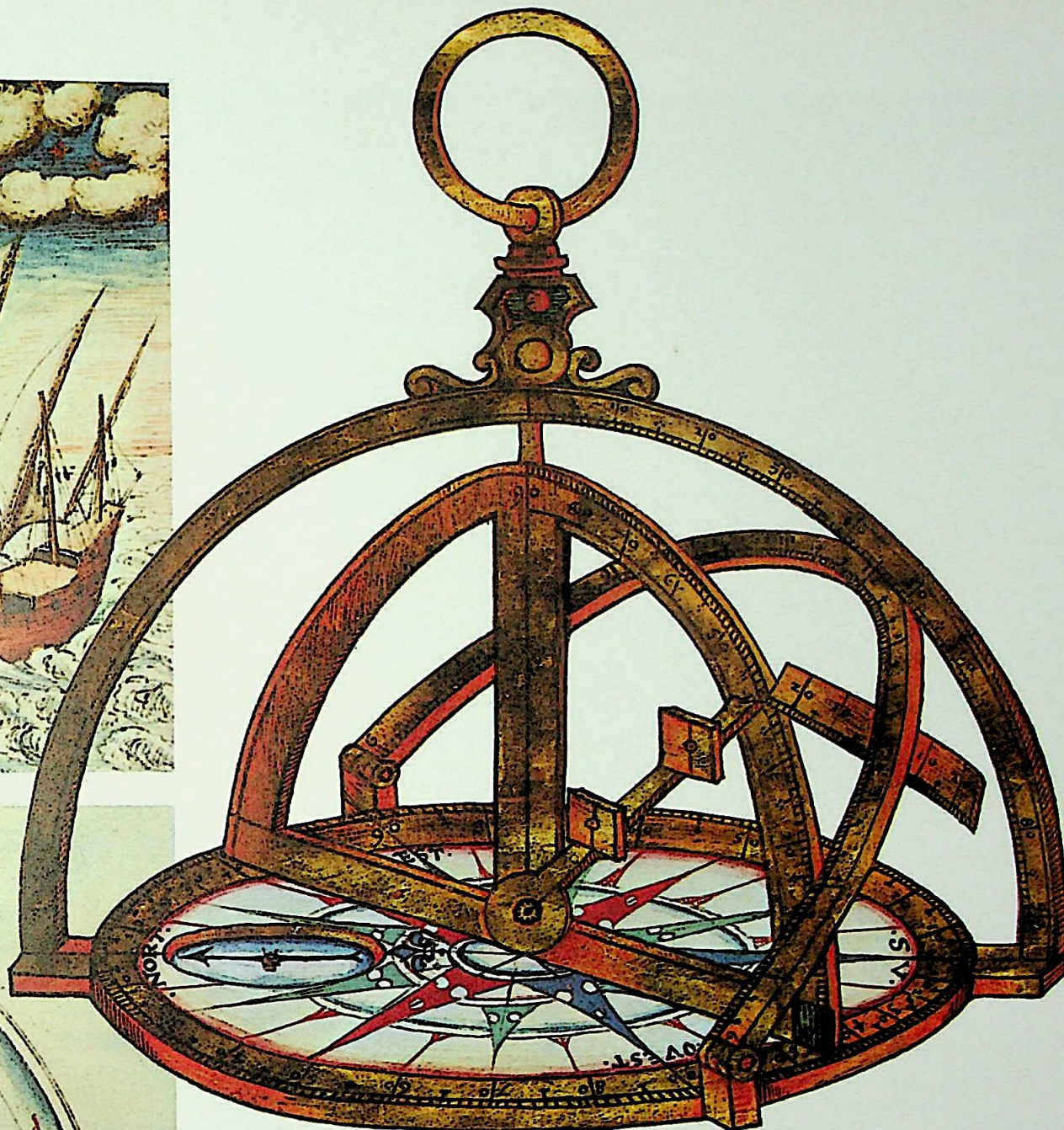
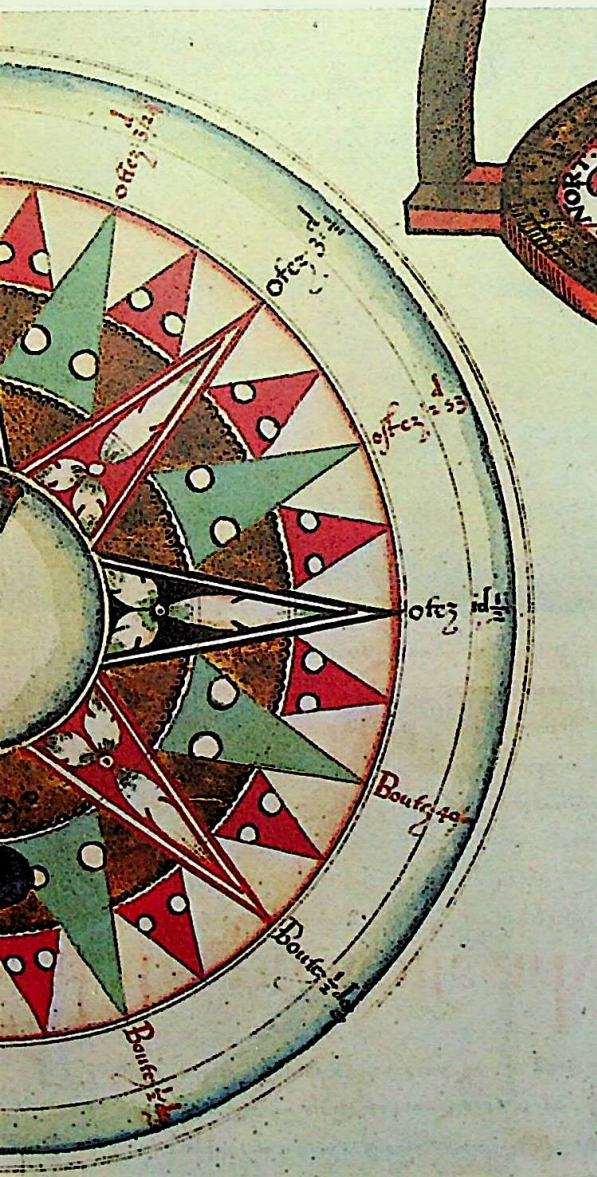
colony was swallowed up, and the New Netherlands came into being.

The settlement was basically a fur trading colony, centred around New Amsterdam (now New York), with its protective bastion at Wall Street, and its acquisitive inhabitants straggling along the Hudson River. Trade with the Indians occupied most of their energy from the beginning, although there was also some agricultural settlement including grants of land over which the patron, or patroon, held manorial rights and where he wielded almost absolute power. By the time of the English conquest in 1664, there were about 7,000 souls in the New Netherlands, and a long period of good government under Pieter Stuyvesant had encouraged settlement. Even so, the colony had always been a minor concern of the West India Company and there were few Dutchmen who felt their country had made a bad bargain when it eventually gave up all claims to the area in return for the confirmation of its rights in Surinam in South America.

Puritan New England

At the same time that Virginia was finding its feet in the tobacco fields, a series of new English settlements with a radically different outlook from their southern neighbours were appearing in the north. The Pilgrims were a small and humble religious sect which had been driven from England by an intolerant Establishment. Sailing in the *Mayflower* from Plymouth in September of 1620, they arrived off Cape Cod, Massachusetts, two months later. Far away from any government, they drew up their own





political contract on board ship, and indeed thus produced the first written constitution of any English-speaking people. They were diligent and hardworking and soon established the colony of New Plymouth.

This first English settlement in the north was soon followed by a much more important project. In England many Puritans found themselves despairing of the government of Charles I, and were harried by the High Church party. A group of them managed to get a grant of land in North America and formed the Massachusetts Bay Company, under charter from the Crown. Ostensibly designed as a commercial organisation, the new company had settlement in mind from the beginning. In an extraordinary meeting in 1629, all shareholders not intending to emigrate to America were bought out. A year later the vanguard, led by John Winthrop, sailed to found a new colony. Further emigration increased their numbers, and by 1640 there were some 14,000 Puritans in Massachusetts.

The fact that Massachusetts was origin-

ally a company or corporate colony somewhat influenced its form of government. Governor, council and assembly were all elected in the way that shareholders might elect a chairman and a board of directors. This did not mean that Puritan Massachusetts was a democracy. The electorate was small and strictly confined to carefully scrutinised church members. The Puritans enforced their own brand of religious orthodoxy with rigid insistence, and those who dissented from it were persecuted almost from the beginning. Massachusetts was also fiercely determined to remain politically independent and had as little to do with the mother country as was possible.

The very intolerance of Massachusetts soon created new colonies. The Puritans rapidly drove out from their ranks people like Roger Williams, who believed in full freedom of conscience, and Anne Hutchinson, who followed her own mystical brand of theology. These two, and others like them, journeyed south, where Williams eventually founded the tolerant province of Rhode



Island. Still others sought unsettled regions, and brought into being the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven.

If the Puritans had so little tolerance for such godly radicals as Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson, it may be imagined they had even less use for the more ruffian-like types of settlers. In nearby Quincy, a renegade lawyer called Thomas Morton had settled with a tough and lusty group of traders. There they sold liquor and firearms to the Indians, and passed their leisure hours in drinking and in dancing with naked Indian girls around a maypole decorated, it was said, with obscene verses. The Puritans hastily packed Morton off to England, but the latter very nearly had his revenge. From the Crown's point of view Massachusetts had only been a sub-settlement in an area already granted to a body known as the Council of New England, under the presidency of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Gorges had originally looked with favour on the Puritan settlements which he considered were under his jurisdiction. Later, influenced by Morton, he decided to take action against them. On Gorges' instigation, Charles I

declared he would take over New England as his father had taken over Virginia, and Gorges was appointed as first royal governor. But Gorges' ship was wrecked on the voyage to America, and then the outbreak of civil war in England ended forever any hopes of Charles I about strengthening his authority in the lands beyond the ocean.

The Red Indians

Conversion of the Red Indians to Christianity was always high amongst the avowed aims of all the European powers who colonised the New World. In practice, the Spaniards took this very seriously, the French less so, the English and Dutch hardly at all. After the brief period of good relations established under the auspices of Pocahontas and her kinsmen, the settlers of Virginia were forced to fight a series of border wars with Indians who rightly feared that their hunting grounds were disappearing forever. The northern Puritans believed that they were God's chosen people come to His chosen land, and treated the Indians as the Israelites had treated the Canaanites.



Interlopers from other nations rapidly challenged the right of Spain and Portugal to control the New World.

Above left: Sir Walter Raleigh. He and his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, made several unsuccessful attempts to establish colonies in North America. (National Portrait Gallery, London.)

Below left: Sir Francis Drake, whose exploits raiding Spanish commerce and colonies are as celebrated as his fight against the Armada. (National Maritime Museum, London.)

Far right: an artist's conception of Jacques Cartier exploring the St Lawrence River for France. (Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer, Paris.)

Early artists found extreme difficulty in capturing the different facial features of the Amerindians. The couple (right) from an engraving by Théodore de Bry, look much more like Europeans in costume than real Indians. (Academia das Ciencias, Lisbon.)



As for the Indians themselves, most were hunting and fishing people, practising a little shifting agriculture. They were fierce fighters, but they were soon outnumbered and were usually incapable of any wide-spread co-ordination of their efforts. Many were killed, more died through disease, and by the end of the century most had been pushed back from the seaboard to the Alleghenny Mountains. On the upper Hudson River and north of Lake Erie, however, lived more formidable and more settled tribes who had large villages and who cultivated maize. The more southerly of these were banded into a confederation, the famous League of the Five Nations, and were called by the French the Iroquois. They were often at war with their northern neighbours, the Hurons. The fur trade soon exacerbated this conflict, the Iroquois acting as middlemen for the Dutch, and later the English, on the Hudson River and the Hurons allying themselves with the French. The Hurons, less organised, were nonetheless more numerous and good fighters. Into their land, in the wake of the fur traders, came Jesuit priests, the spearhead of French

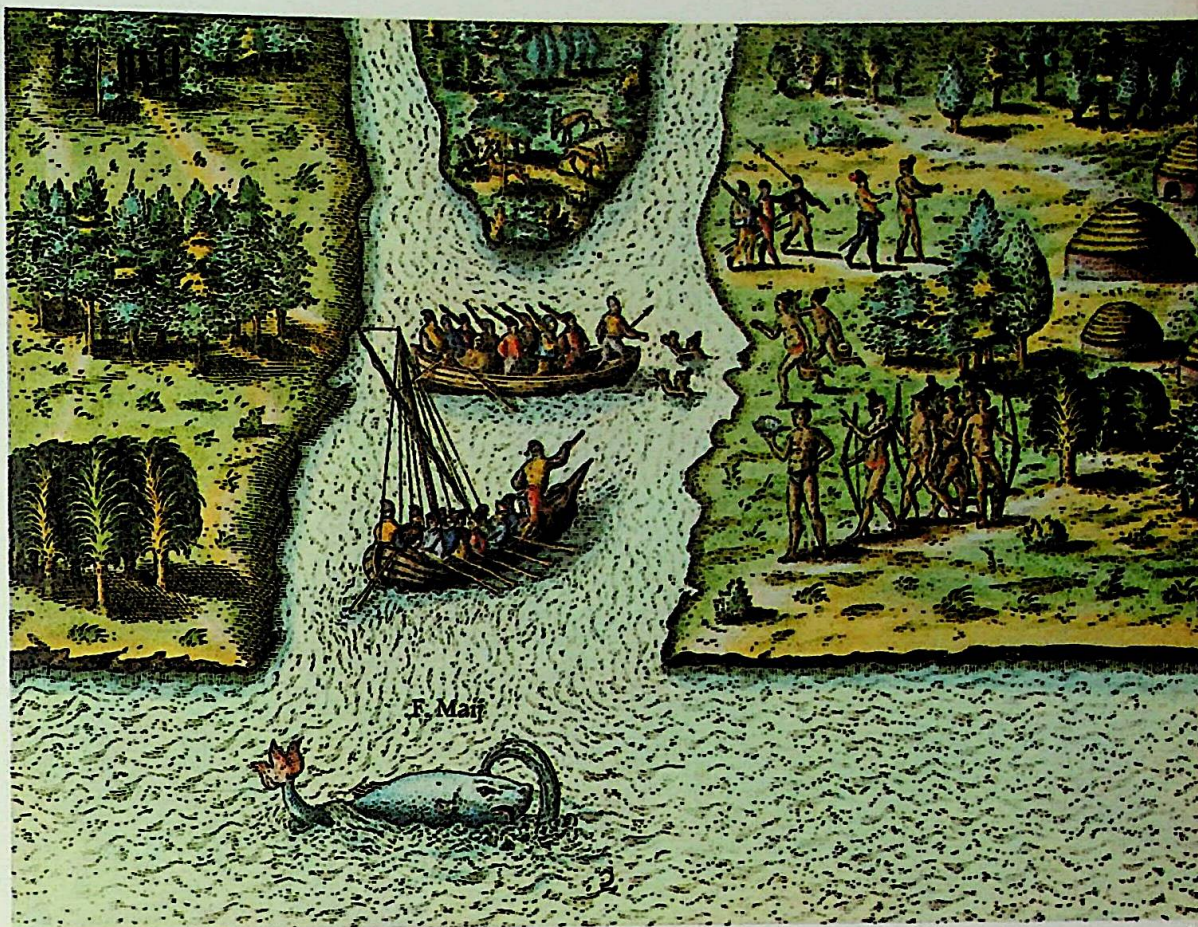




Quebec, founded in 1608, was the bastion of New France.

Left: a view from the citadel in the late seventeenth century. (Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer, Paris.)

Right: early French explorers landing in Florida and (below left) Carolina. However, the Spaniards ultimately occupied Florida and the English Carolina. (Bibliothèque du Service hydrographique de la Marine, Paris.)



diplomacy, and it briefly appeared that this area might turn into another Jesuit theocracy. Unhappily, an epidemic greatly reduced the Hurons, and a deep factional struggle between Christians and pagans grew up within their ranks. At this fatal juncture the Iroquois began their great offensive of the sixteen-forties. The Hurons were virtually exterminated, the French fur trade came to a halt, and soon even the settlements on the St Lawrence were placed in peril. It was to be some time before the French were able to regain the initiative in North America.

The West Indies

The enthusiasm aroused by their mainland discoveries had diverted the interests of the Spaniards from the Caribbean. By the seventeenth century they had settled only the larger islands and even these very sparsely, while the numerous small islands of the sea were still virgin territory. In 1622 Thomas Warner discovered St Kitts. Three years later an English settlement under Warner and a French one under the Sieur d'Esnambuc were co-operating peacefully on the tiny island.

From St Kitts colonisation spread. The English occupied nearby Nevis and Montserrat, while in 1625 John Powell discovered the larger more fertile and uninhabited island of Barbados. Meanwhile, d'Esnambuc had sent settlers to occupy the more

important island of Martinique. France later added Guadeloupe and St Lucia to her list of possessions, and in 1635 a chartered company was formed to be responsible for the French West Indian colonies.

Prior to this, an attempt by English Puritans to found a settlement on the island of Providence had failed when the colony degenerated into a nest of pirates and was removed by the Spaniards. However, the idea of plundering the Spaniards on the one hand and trading illegally with their colonists on the other was by no means exclusive to the Puritans of Providence. In these fields it was the Dutch who first achieved success. In 1628, in the sea battle of the Matanzas, the Dutch admiral Pieter Heyn for ever enshrined himself in the history of the Caribbean by capturing intact the Spanish treasure fleet. This fabulous success, which allowed the Dutch West India Company to declare a fifty per cent dividend to every shareholder, set a goal for generations of other seamen, but was only twice repeated during the colonial period. The Dutch also claimed island colonies for themselves—Curaçao, Aruba and St Eustatius. These, however, were mainly trading entrepôts where Dutch goods could be sold illegally to Spanish colonists.

So far as the English and French islands were concerned, the main event which overtook them was the sugar revolution of mid-century. Once the knowledge of how to raise sugar-cane was imported from Brazil,

it transformed the whole economic basis of the area. By the sixteen-fifties most of the smaller islands had switched to sugar with Barbados leading the way for the English, and Martinique and Guadeloupe for the French. Such a change was to have an immense effect on the demography of the West Indies. During the early period the islands had absorbed large numbers of white immigrants as small farmers. But sugar cultivation required much capital, large plantations, and huge labour forces. Soon large sugar planters were buying out the small tobacco farmers, while the white population of the islands fell dramatically and the number of Negro slaves soared. This both encouraged the slave trade enormously and also brought much wealth to the white planters and ultimately to the merchants of France and England. It was not until the next century, however, that the two colossi of Caribbean sugar producers—British Jamaica and French St Domingue—emerged as the most important colonies in their respective Western empires.

Cromwell and the colonies

The great Civil War in England temporarily ended the English monarchy and replaced it with the Commonwealth. At first, some of the English colonies, both in the Caribbean and on the mainland, retained royalist sympathies, but a Puritan squadron sent out from England soon brought them to

heel. However, provinces such as Massachusetts, which gave lip service to the Commonwealth, were left virtually independent.

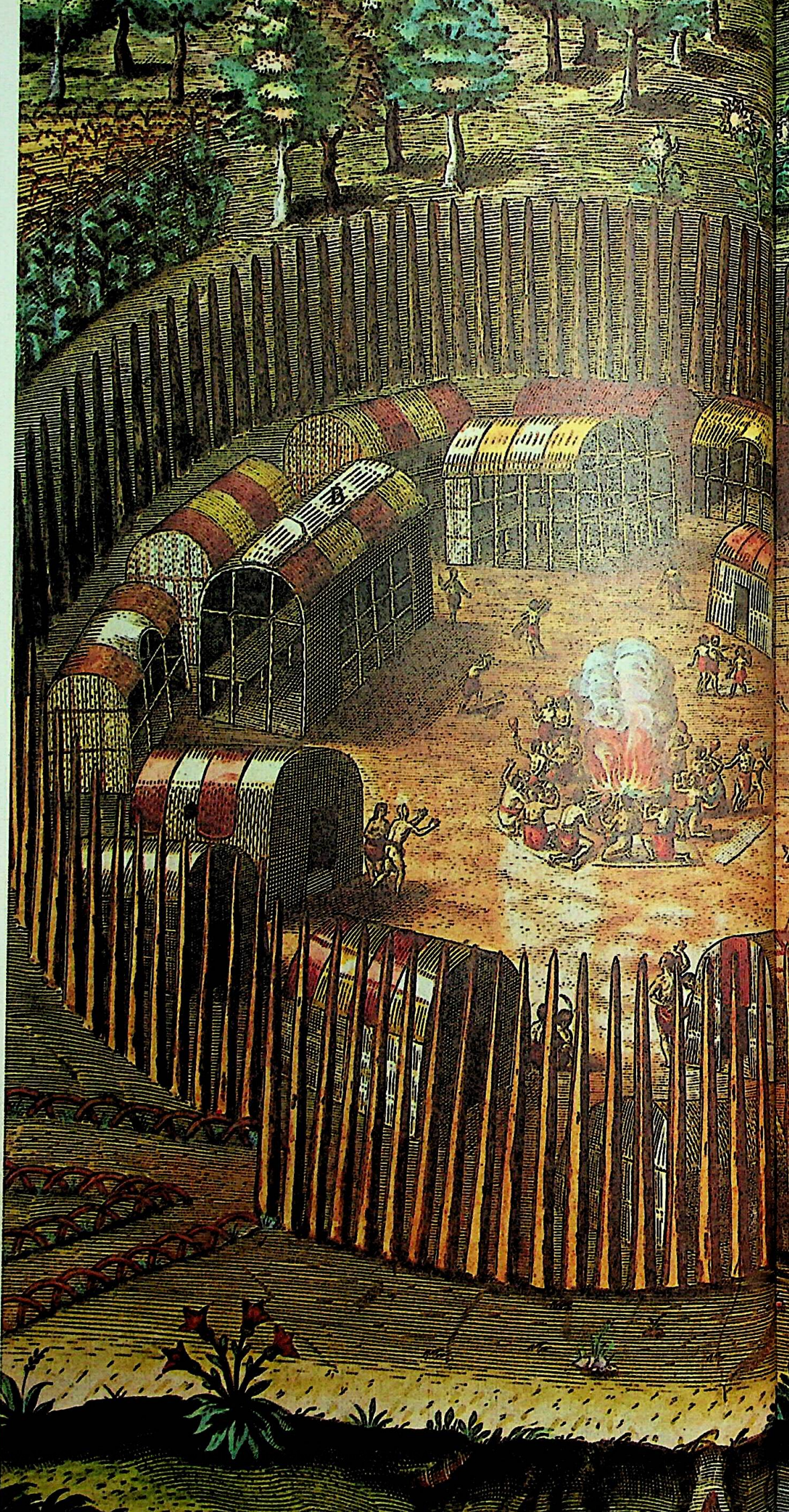
The accession of Oliver Cromwell to full power in England again focused events on the West Indies. Cromwell's policy harked back to archaic ideas such as a league of all Protestant powers against Catholic Spain, and a new assault on Spanish America was planned and given the grandiloquent title of 'the Western Design'. In the event, this resulted in one of the most thoroughly wretched expeditionary forces ever to leave English shores embarking upon the attempted conquest of Hispaniola in 1655. The Spaniards proved more than a match for their adversaries, but the disgruntled English commanders did manage to capture weakly garrisoned Jamaica as a sort of consolation prize. Cromwell was thinking in terms of a foreign policy half a century out of date, yet he accidentally stumbled in the direction of the future. Jamaica, little regarded at the time, was to become the sugar queen of Britain's mercantile empire a century later. In the meantime, the island proved to have a modest usefulness of a different kind—it provided a base for the buccaneers who now entered upon their heyday of plundering and pillaging Spanish shipping and settlement.

The term 'buccaneer' originated from a group of Frenchmen who lived by curing meat or *boucan* on the uninhabited coasts of Hispaniola. They were peaceable enough until the Spaniards cruelly scattered their settlements and hunted them down like animals. Taking to the sea, the buccaneers exacted a terrible revenge. Soon joined by many English and Dutch adventurers, they built up large fleets and irregular armies. For a generation they terrorised the Caribbean; the most famous of them all was the Englishman, Henry Morgan—he who amassed a fortune by sacking three of the richest Spanish settlements, who forced prisoners to walk barefoot over hot coals in order to get them to reveal their wealth, who made captured monks and nuns advance ahead of his troops and be shot down by their fellow Spaniards, who led armies that slaughtered men and raped women throughout the whole of the Spanish Main. Eventually, by the treaty of Madrid in 1670, the Spaniards agreed to recognise the English settlements in the Caribbean and the English agreed to suppress the buccaneers. Morgan was retired, knighted, created lieutenant governor of Jamaica, and quietly allowed to drink himself to death.

Mercantilism

Mercantilism was an economic doctrine that provided the whole theory for imperial expansion up until the end of the eighteenth century. Basically, mercantilists believed that all the European powers were engaged in a life and death struggle over controlling

CC-0. Prof.





In the course of the century, the Red Indians of the eastern seaboard of North America were either killed off by disease and warfare, or were driven back to the Appalachian Mountains.

The picture at left shows a village of Virginian Indians protected by a palisade of sharpened timbers. (Bibliothèque du Service hydrographique de la Marine, Paris.)

Above: Indian stag-hunters approaching their prey under deerskin disguises. From an engraving by Théodore de Bry. (Academia das Ciencias, Lisbon.)

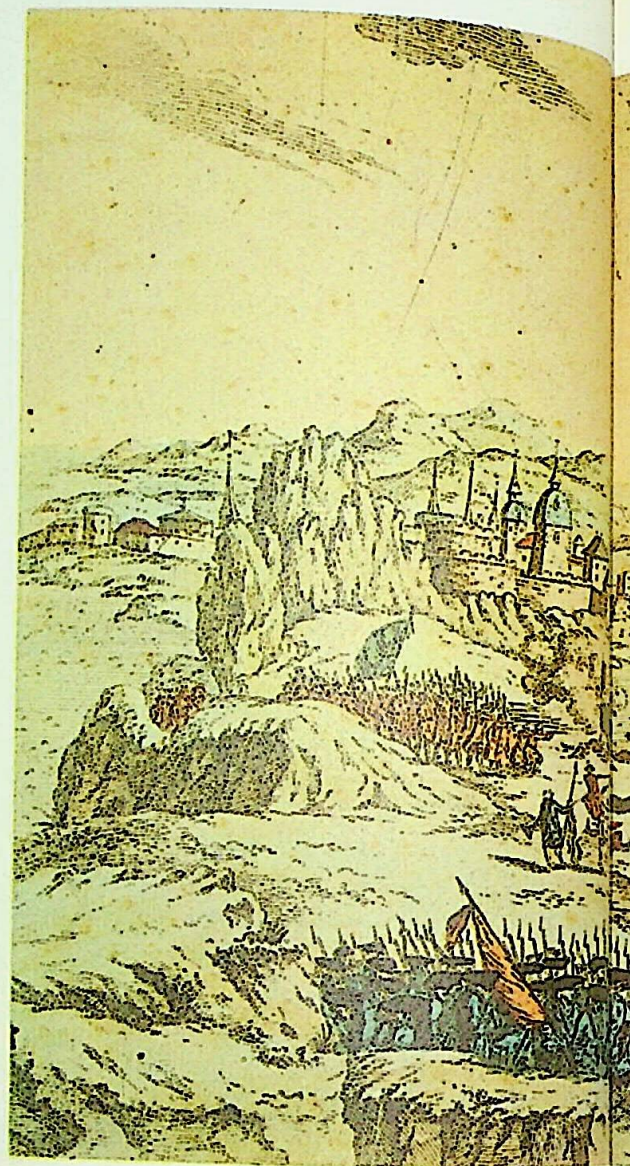
the natural wealth of the world. Those nations that gained most of this wealth would wax ever stronger; those who were shut out from it would inevitably weaken and perhaps perish.

Early economists thought of natural wealth in terms of amassing precious metals and bullion. Later on the mercantile concept was widened to include commodities as well. The major aim was to build a self-contained state that could produce all it needed and could free itself from dependency on rival powers. This was the motivating force behind the European imperial expansion of the time, although matters rarely worked out exactly as planned. In the long run, geography and consumer demand rather than mercantilist theories dictated what was produced. In fact, the Europeans

stumbled across commodities like sugar, tobacco, coffee, cotton, cocoa and indigo which proved capable of producing immense profits, even though the demand for them in previous centuries had been non-existent or severely limited. Of these, sugar was the most valuable, and thus, for both the English and the French the West Indies became the focal point for their American empires.

By the end of the seventeenth century, the tiny island of Barbados was becoming the jewel in Britain's imperial crown, with a trade turnover greater than most of the much larger mainland colonies put together.

Mercantilism had many interesting implications. Since the wealth of the nation was the first consideration, it was taken for granted that the state would interfere heavily in overseas economic affairs. The



Dutch showed the way with the development of the two huge, monopolistic, chartered companies, the East India Company and the West India Company, which were almost departments of the government itself. But the most famous legislative expression of the mercantile system was Britain's Acts of Trade and Navigation, begun in the mid-sixteen-fifties. These attempted to lay down the principles that all important commodities produced in the colonies should be shipped directly to Britain and not to other countries; that all goods which the colonists bought in exchange should be shipped directly from Britain; that all shipping should be carried in British or colonial ships. Since mercantile commerce was overseas commerce, the system enormously enhanced the value of sea power and encouraged all nations to build large navies and merchant marines. Mercantilism also meant that colonies existed for the sake of the mother country and not the other way around. Thus the colonists, although expected to gain their fair share from the wealth of empire, were none the less politically and economically subject to the dictates of European governments.

English Restoration and further expansion

The return of the Stuarts to power in England in 1660 was accompanied by a new outburst of enthusiasm for colonial activities, of which the Navigation Acts were only one expression. A large new colony was planned immediately south of Virginia when, in 1663, Charles II issued a proprietary charter covering the territory which was to be known as Carolina. But this venture was chiefly noted for the absurd expectations of the proprietors of quick financial returns, and for the ridiculously authoritarian constitution for the colonists drawn up by the philosopher, John Locke, mainly known for his anti-authoritarian political ideas. Most of the area remained largely uninhabited until the following century.

Nevertheless, other new English colonies came into being farther north along the Atlantic seaboard. In 1664, when England and Holland were at war, King Charles' brother, the Duke of York, organised the expedition which conquered the New Netherlands. The duke then turned this





Europeans at war over a continent.
Left: the French admiral, de Ternay, captures St John's, Newfoundland, in 1761. (Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer, Paris.) Relations between Europeans and Amerindians were sometimes initially peaceful. The Quakers, who settled in Pennsylvania after 1675 (extreme left), were especially known for their fairness. (U.S.I.S.)

Equally pacific were the Franco-Indian relations depicted (below left) during a brief French attempt to settle Florida. (Bibliothèque du Service hydrographique de la Marine, Paris.)

However, the ritual eating of the flesh of brave enemies was sometimes misinterpreted by horrified Europeans as cannibalism.

Below: a particularly lurid barbecue as it existed in the fantasy of the early traveller. Théodore de Bry. (Academia das Ciencias, Lisbon.)



area into his own proprietary colony and renamed it after himself. Soon, however, he sold off the more southerly portions to another group of proprietors, and thus the separate colonies of East and West New Jersey came into being. More important was the large colony established by the Duke of York's friend, William Penn. As a haven for his fellow Quakers, Penn acquired proprietary rights in what became Pennsylvania as payment for a debt owed to him by the Crown. When Charles II died and the Duke of York ascended the throne as James II, New York then became a royal colony. Pennsylvania, however, was a proprietorship until the American Revolution.

The Restoration era also saw the formation of two large chartered companies, with members and associates of the royal family amongst the shareholders. The Royal African Company was organised to put the slave trade on a better footing, while the Hudson's Bay Company was designed to exploit the wealth in furs available in the Canadian Arctic. The latter company was to suffer many vicissitudes during the following years of war with France, but it contrived to survive and is still operating to the present day.

Besides founding colonies, Restoration statesmen grappled with the problem of making royal authority more effective. The notoriously independent colonies of New England were eventually brought to heel by an English naval squadron and by their own fear of the French power growing up behind them. Ultimately, they acquiesced in acknowledging the sovereignty of the Crown and in promising obedience to the Navigation Acts. When James II became king, however, he attempted to push this trend still further. The former Puritan colonies were then deprived of their charters and forced to join together in the new Dominion of New England along with New York and New Jersey. However, the Revolution of 1688 which drove James off the throne of England was immediately followed by the break-up of his embryonic Dominion. Nevertheless, William III did not allow the clock to be turned back completely. While New York, the New Jerseys, Connecticut, and Rhode Island all regained their former status, Massachusetts remained a royal colony.

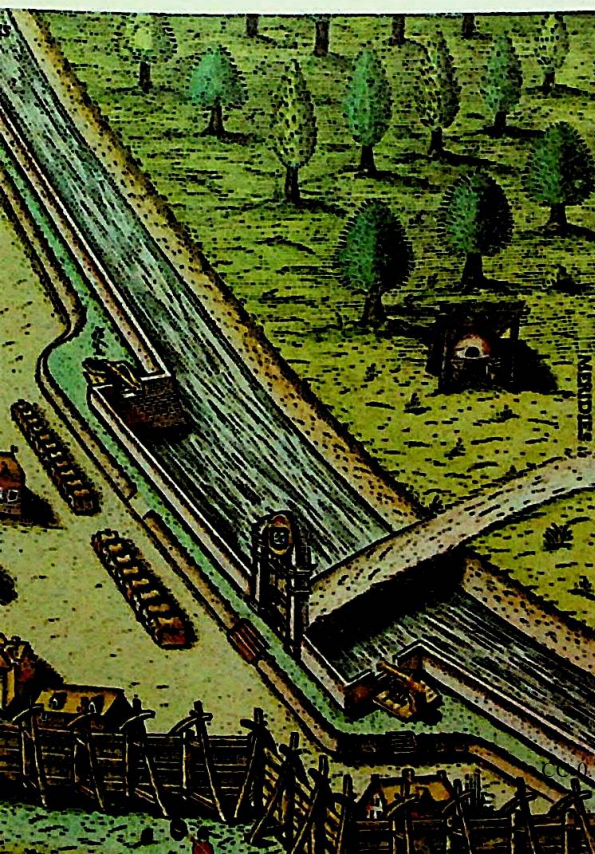
But the most remarkable development in the English American colonies had nothing to do with the deeds of Stuart statesmen; this was the astonishing growth of population. Through immigration and natural reproduction the number of English settlers had grown from the few hundred who landed at Jamestown to about 350,000 by the end of the century. This growth was to continue, and was to be the most important single factor in deciding which power would ultimately rule in North America.



Almost invariably, however, Europeans and Red Indians eventually found themselves in conflict, as the latter rightly feared the ultimate loss of their hunting grounds. Above: Indians attack Spaniards and (far right) French and Indians in mortal combat.

Right: a heavily barricaded French fort. (Bibliothèque du Service hydrographique de la Marine, Paris.)





New France and the fur trade

In pursuit of the fur trade the French, as we have seen, had penetrated to the region north of the Great Lakes and allied themselves with the Huron Indians. But when the Iroquois hit back and destroyed Huronia, the whole existence of New France was placed in jeopardy. The threat of physical extinction had passed by the sixteen-sixties when a great Iroquois drive on Montreal was halted by the famous last stand of Adam Dollard at the Long Sault. Nevertheless, with the fur trade totally disrupted by the Iroquois, the colony must necessarily have withered unless help were forthcoming from France itself. This materialised in the reign of Louis XIV. Louis' great minister of the marine, Colbert, was an avowed mercantilist and determined to retrieve the fortunes of the colony. Under his auspices the old and inefficient monopoly companies were replaced with a system of direct royal control, with a council headed by a governor, a bishop, and an intendant. In 1665, the

Marquis de Tracy arrived in New France with detachments of a crack French regiment—the first regulars who served in the colony. A year later, the French marched out to the Iroquois country and destroyed the villages and strongholds of the Indians. The latter avoided a pitched battle but were obliged to sue for peace.

Once this external threat was removed it was possible to overhaul the colony itself. The new system, with the governor as military and administrative head, the intendant handling economic and financial affairs, and the bishop dealing with the very important ecclesiastical side of life (for New France was a very Catholic colony), was designed to be a powerful 'troika' working to establish the settlement's welfare. Great strides were certainly made, particularly during the period of the zealous intendant, Jean Talon (1665-72), who devised methods of raising the population; there was a great increase in the area of land under cultivation, and even the establishment of some modest industries.



Eventually, life in the colony took on a settled and permanent character. Its basis was the seigneurial system, a structure of feudal land-tenancy and of feudal dues, and despite its antiquated nature the system worked well. The seigneur acted as the local squire, magistrate, perhaps militia leader. But he was rarely much wealthier than his tenants and often worked in the fields with them. The tenants were assured of the full possession of land so long as they paid small dues and contributed minor labours, and they were free to sell their tenancies at will. Neither tenants nor seigneur had any political power—all this was invested in the council in Quebec.

Unfortunately, governor, bishop, and intendant—designed to complement each other—might also oppose each other and paralyse administration. The most famous of the many such controversies was between

Frontenac, the formidable governor who wished to extend the fur trade as rapidly as possible, and Laval, the greatest of the bishops, who was appalled at the way brandy debauched the Indians and brutalised life in the colony in general. It was inevitable that it should have been Frontenac's point of view that ultimately carried the day. To the government in Paris, if New France did not mean the fur trade, it meant nothing at all, for the sales of beaver pelts sustained the colony. But the fur trade was antipathetic to settlement; farmers ploughed land and cleared forests, thus driving away the Indians who trapped the beavers—and the beavers themselves who provided the furs. Moreover, many young men needed to work on the farms were drawn off into the more adventurous life of *coureurs de bois*—roaming the forests, trading, living with the Indians and often intermarrying with them.

It was the fur trade that also accounted for that other main characteristic of the French empire in North America—its sprawling size. As old areas were denuded of furs new ones had to be found, so the empire expanded. Frontenac built a fort on Lake Ontario and by the end of the century the French were pushing towards Lake Superior. In the south, Marquette and Joliet reached the Mississippi in 1673; La Salle followed the great river to its mouth in the Gulf of Mexico in 1682, and Iberville founded a colony there in 1699.

But the occupation of this vast area inevitably led to conflict with the English settlers, who, their numbers steadily increasing, were already trickling over the mountains and eyeing the fertile lands to the west, while in the whole of the French dominions in North America there were at this time scarcely more than 10,000 people in 1700.



Overseas colonies and commerce built up both merchant marines and navies.

Left: colonial products being unloaded in a French port. (Bibliothèque du Service hydrographique de la Marine, Paris.)

Thus, the fur trade created a huge empire for France, and staffed it with men—hardy fur traders and their Indian allies—who could defend it with great skill and courage. But it also ensured that these men were to be very few in number.

The first conflicts

The War of the League of Augsburg which began in 1689 was mainly a European affair, but for the first time colonial fighting was of some importance. Indeed skirmishes occurred in America even before the formal declaration of war. The French had captured posts on Hudson Bay, while the Iroquois Indians, allied to the English, had annihilated the town of Lachine, six miles from Montreal.

When real war began, the old Count Frontenac was sent back as governor of

Above: a military disembarkation on Spanish Hispaniola. (Musée de la France d'Outre-Mer, Paris.) This large Caribbean island was eventually divided between France and Spain.

New France. He immediately organised savage Indian raids against the frontier of New England. In 1690, however, the French were placed on the defensive. In May a New England force, commanded by Sir William Phips, easily captured Port Royal in Nova Scotia.

In August, Phips set out with 2,000 men and thirty-four ships against Quebec itself. But the expedition did not reach its objective until October. Nor did the French simply capitulate in the face of enemy power as Phips appears to have expected. Frontenac answered his demand for surrender 'from the mouths of my cannon', to use his own words, and after some skirmishing and shelling, the New Englanders gave up and withdrew.

The French next launched an offensive in 1696. Frontenac himself commanded the expedition striking at the Iroquois,

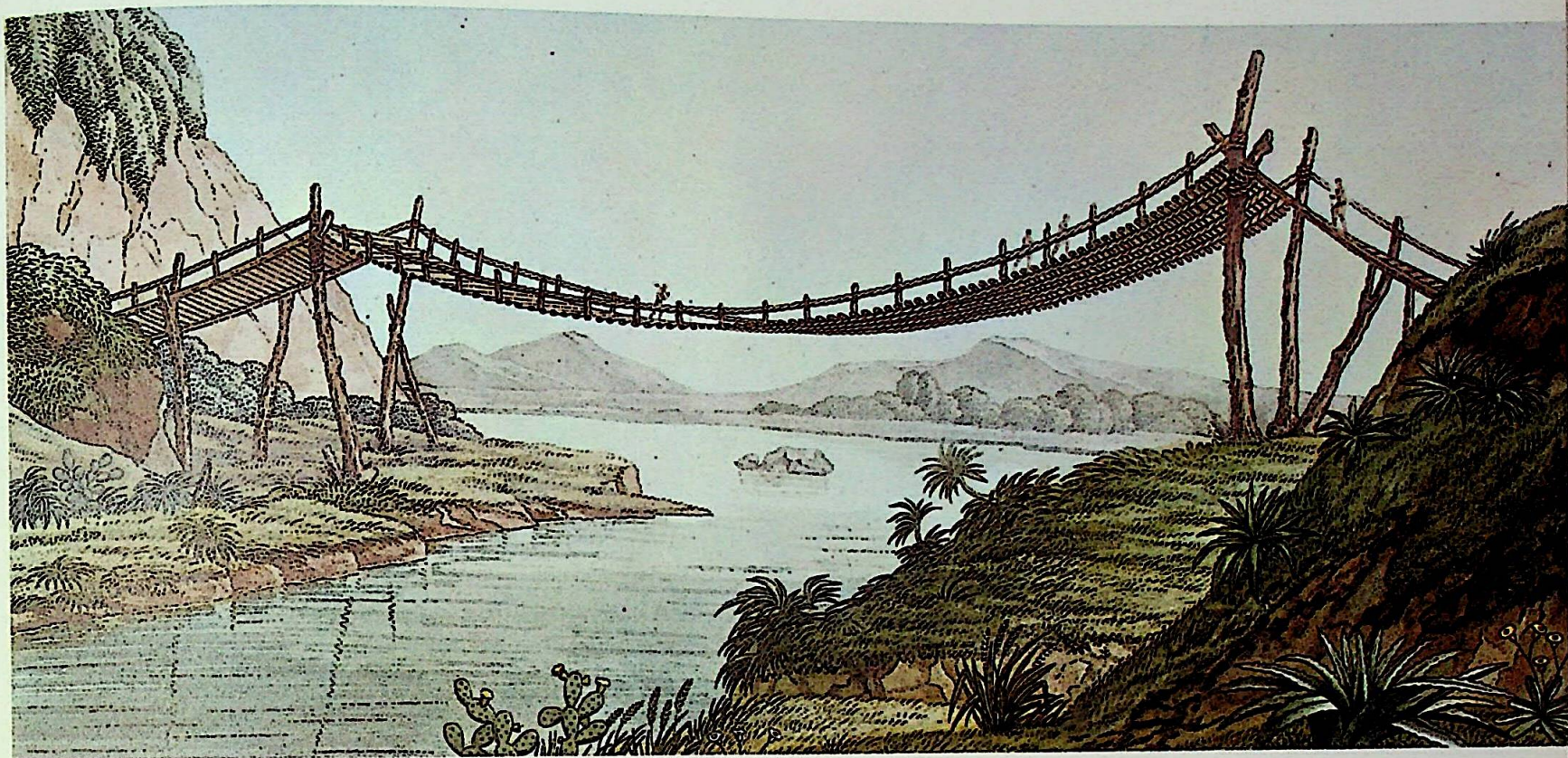
while in an astonishing campaign the remarkable Sieur d'Iberville captured Pemaquid in Maine, attacked the English settlements in Newfoundland, and in a single vessel bested three English warships on Hudson Bay.

In the West Indies the several operations of the war ended in a draw. Du Casse ravaged Jamaica, but could not hold it. A French assault from St Domingue on Spanish Hispaniola was halted by the Spaniards in the battle of Limonade, but an Anglo-Spanish counter-attack failed when the troops perished from disease.

The Treaty of Ryswick, which ended the war in 1697, made few alterations in the West Indies, but in the north the French gained some advantages. Nova Scotia was returned to them, and they kept all but one of the English forts on Hudson Bay. By separate agreement, the Iroquois promised Frontenac to remain neutral in future conflicts. So the first, rather small, clash of empires had seen the English somewhat worsted by their rivals. Ryswick, however, was not the end of the story, but only the beginning.



The Europeans in North America. Spain was first with the landing of the Italian, Columbus, in the West Indies in 1492. The British followed in 1497 with John Cabot's landfall at Cape Breton. The French sent another Italian, Giovanni da Verrazano, on a similar quest; he reached the Atlantic coast of North America in 1523.



Colonial conflict in the eighteenth century

New vice-royalties and new hopes; new kinds of wealth; the War of Jenkins' Ear; the Jesuits of Paraguay; rebellion—Tupac Amaru; Spanish colonial culture; the nightmare of colonial Brazil; Tiradentes, and the last hope of the Indians.

Just as the seventeenth century had been an age of primitive empire-building, so the eighteenth was to be one of imperial conflict. The economic doctrine of mercantilism, which had provided the impetus for colonisation, also greatly influenced the institution of European warfare. On the one hand, it helped to temper it. Commercial wars were much less ferocious affairs than religious or nationalistic ones. On the other hand, mercantilist attitudes made the occurrence of war much more likely. The necessity of controlling ever more of the world's natural wealth inevitably led to the desire to destroy or swallow up the colonies owned by rival nations. Fighting was conducted on a world-wide basis. In the War of Jenkin's Ear, Britain made a great assault on Spanish America and utterly failed. But against their more formidable French enemies, the English were ultimately

successful. A long series of colonial campaigns, reaching their climax in the Seven Years War, saw Britain wrest from France control of both India and North America.

Latin America

The seventeenth century, as we have seen, was a period of catastrophic decline, both for Spain and for her imperial possessions. The following century, however, saw an upward trend; the new Bourbon dynasty, arriving in Spain in 1700 in the person of Philip V, brought more brisk, French-inspired ways of thinking to the decrepit empire. This trend continued for most of the next hundred years and found its best expression during the reign of Charles III, from 1759 to 1788. Charles was an enlightened despot, whose motto was 'Everything for the people, but nothing by the

people.' Although not over intelligent, he was sincere in his good intentions and ailing Spain saw a marked, if only partial, revival in her fortunes.

This upsurge was also evident in Latin America. This was partially owing to natural circumstances. By 1700, the dreadful population decline had been halted and reversed, and so gave hope that reforms would enjoy a measure of success. At the same time the secret report of two Spanish naval officers, Antonio de Ulloa and Jorge Juan, clearly depicted all the corruption and indolence that existed in Spanish colonial administration.

Cordage bridges in the Andes existed in Inca times: the idea was still in use in 1800 when this drawing was made. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Enlightened despotism in Spanish America. Below: Charles III, whose reign saw a general improvement in the government of the Spanish Empire. The arrogance of the Spanish-born officials, however, aroused the resentment of the colonists. Right: a self-important municipal official with his family and his retinue of slaves. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Administrative reform

In the years of the Bourbon era, many salutary administrative experiments with regard to the colonies were made at both metropolitan and local levels. In Spain itself, the year 1714 saw the creation of a new Ministry of Marine and the Indies. This body proved much more modern and efficient than the old Royal and Supreme Council, which had done good work in its time, but was now past its prime. The old council still remained, however, rather obstructing the work of its younger rival, but most of its powers were gradually shifted to the new ministry in the course of the century. Another improvement occurred when all of the administrative institutions regarding the colonies were moved from Seville to Cadiz, a much more satisfactory port.

In the colonies themselves dramatic changes also took place. In the course of the century, the huge and cumbersome

Vice-Royalty of Peru was split into three. In 1717, modern Colombia and Venezuela were detached from Peru, and the Vice-Royalty of New Granada was created. To the south, the area comprising much of present-day Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Bolivia was turned into the Vice-Royalty of La Plata in 1776, with its capital at Buenos Aires. This area, originally ruled from Lima, thousands of miles away and behind the mountains of the Andes, now saw a period of rapid growth, testifying to the usefulness of the change. At the same time, the quality of the viceroys themselves was improved, and in the late eighteenth century we again have men like Bucareli and Revillagigedo, whose names and deeds are worthy to be compared with such earlier notables as Mendoza and Toledo.

The structure of government

Spanish government in the New World had originally been designed to ensure that royal authority was felt down to the lowest levels of administration. Its fundamental unit was the *cabildo* or town council. *Regidores*, or councillors, and *alcaldes*, or mayors, were the centres of power in their own small communities. They collected taxes, supervised police, sanitation, and all the other duties of a municipality. The members of *cabildos* were ostensibly forbidden to use their positions for private gain, and all their acts were reviewed, theoretically, by higher officials.

Supervising the conduct of the *cabildos*, and of all other inferior magistrates, were the *audiencias*, or royal courts, whose judges were known as *oidores*—‘those who hear’. The latter individuals were very highly paid, and their lives circumscribed by rather monastic restrictions to guard against perversion of justice. Some ten



audiencias had been created in the sixteenth century, each exercising many judicial, administrative, military and financial functions in its section of the empire. They were also designed to ensure continuity of administration, and automatically took the place of a viceroy, should the latter die or be recalled.

A viceroy was, of course, the direct representative of the king, and he lived in a palace with an establishment that many European monarchs might have envied. His powers were huge; so was his salary—in an effort to place him above corruption. His term of office, however, was generally short—in theory only three years. He was forbidden all private business, was not allowed to marry within his own realm, and was always subject to instant recall from Madrid. He and all other officials were open to the periodic examinations of a royal visitor, who might appear when he chose, investigate all records, and listen to complaints which anyone might bring. At

the end of his term of office, every viceroy had to undergo a *residencia*, where a judge appointed by the crown would examine his whole record in public.

In some ways this cumbersome and complex structure of government had worked remarkably well. But during the lax period of the seventeenth century many abuses had grown up. The most important remedial measure of the eighteenth century was the introduction of the *intendencias*, again borrowed from French models. The greatest failure of the old system of administration had been the gap between the extremely well paid viceroys and members of the *audiencias* on one hand, and the local administrators such as the *alcaldes* and *corregidores* on the other. Owing to their small salaries, the latter had derived most of their income from bribery or exactions, while their pettiness and their distance from the seats of power had largely protected their corruption from investigation by the higher organs. Now, however, the vice-

royalties were subdivided into dozens of *intendencias* ruled by professional administrators with good salaries. Beneath these were further sub-divisions, administered by *sub-delegados*, who were appointed by the intendants. This extended to the majority of the populace at least some hope of real justice.

Economic revival and colonial defence

One of the reasons for the seventeenth-century decline of both Spain and the Indies was the tremendous falling off in the production of precious metals during this period. Similarly, the eighteenth century revival was accompanied by a remarkable increase in bullion production, especially in Mexican silver, greatly aided by the recoinage of the clipped and debased colonial currency undertaken in 1728 under the aegis of Philip V. Others factors as well—a decrease in the labour shortage, better

mining techniques, and the more sensible management of the mining companies themselves, helped to double the Mexican silver output. But the Indies were also becoming important as exporters of other commodities.

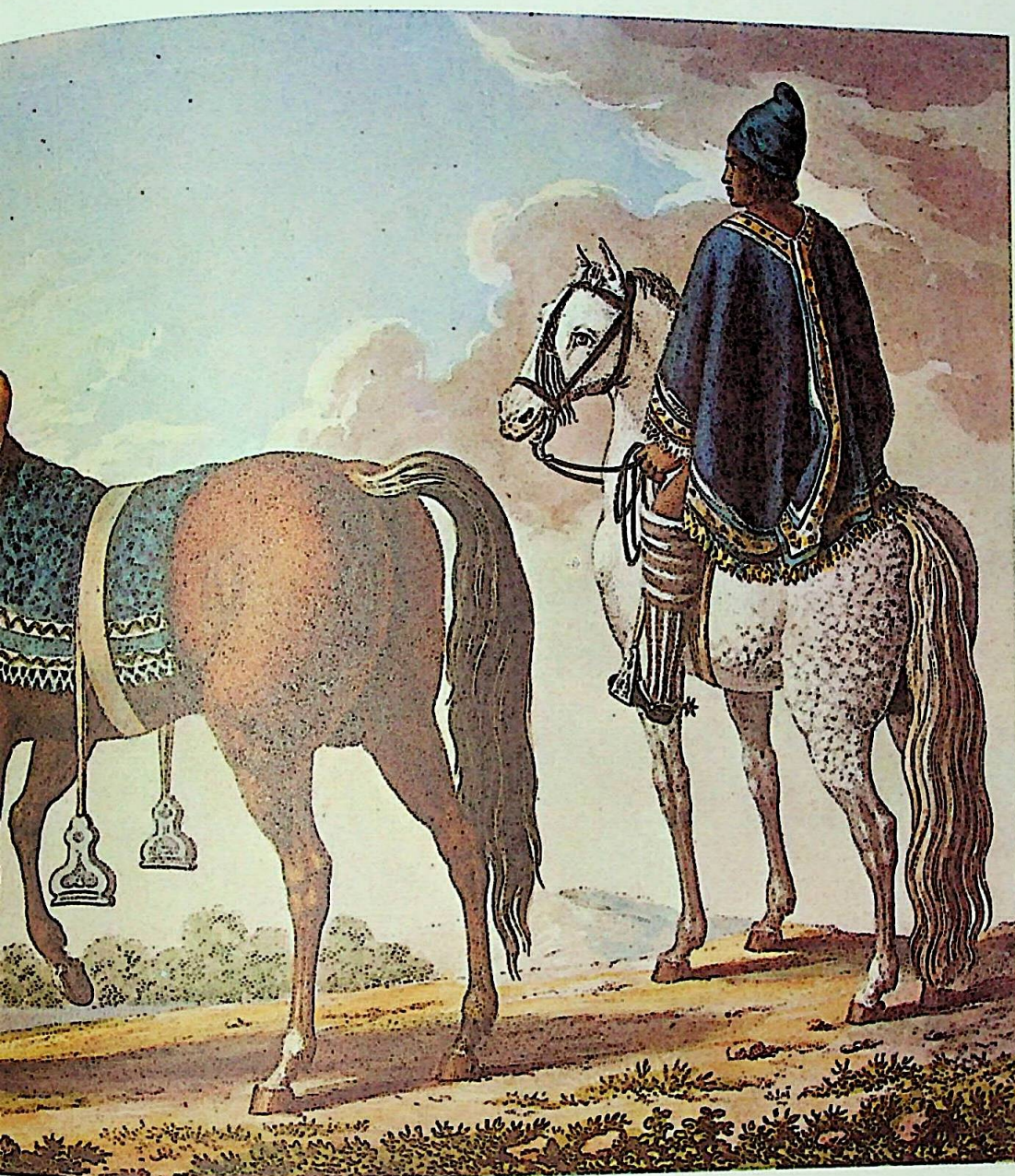
An increased demand for leather in Europe strongly stimulated the production of hides, taken from the wild cattle that roamed the pampas of the Argentine. Hitherto there had been little demand for meat, and the carcasses of these slaughtered cattle had been left for the vultures. But the discovery of huge salt mines near Buenos Aires meant that this area could begin to produce the salted beef which was in such demand by the navies of the world. Agricultural exports, especially cash crops like coffee and cocoa, also saw an astonishing period of growth. Spanish lethargy had originally left the immense profits of sugar cultivation almost exclusively in the hands of other nations. But by the eighteenth century it was being grown in many places, both on the mainland and on the Caribbean islands. In Cuba, sugar production increased ten times within forty years. By the end of the century, that island was the greatest of the Caribbean exporters.

To manage their colonial wealth better, the Bourbons created a number of state monopoly companies modelled after the British and Dutch East India companies. The most important of these were the Honduras Company, the Havana Company, the Santo Domingo Company, and the Caracas Company. But only the last-named was ever really an important success or paid good dividends.

The return of economic prosperity to the Spanish dominions was naturally accompanied by an important revival of trade and a significant growth of shipping. It was during the reign of Charles III that sensible attempts were made to increase this trend by the promotion of a freer trade within the Spanish Empire itself. In 1765 the monopoly of Cadiz was at last breached, and the Caribbean islands were opened to virtually unlimited trade with nine of the chief Spanish ports. This type of concession was later expanded, between 1768 and 1778, to all Spanish America excepting New Spain (Mexico) and Venezuela.

As her empire once again became so valuable to Spain it was necessary for the mother country to devote more thought and energy to protecting it. The old *encomienda* system had provided levies of soldiers to defend the empire in a manner similar to the Scottish clan system. But the decline of the Indian population on which it was based had led to the virtual disappearance of the *encomienda* by 1700. For a period, it was only detachments of regular soldiers that gave military protection to Spanish America. After 1760, however, a colonial militia system was introduced and organised with reasonable efficiency. Earlier,





a coastguard had been created in an attempt to end the huge illegal trade carried on between the Spanish colonists in the Caribbean and the foreign possessions there. Against smugglers, the *guarda costas* proved remarkably efficient. Indeed, almost too much so; the over-enthusiastic seizures made by their captains were among the chief factors promoting war with England in 1739.

To guard her trade and commerce with the colonies, Spain in earlier years had relied on the convoy system and on the vast complex of fortresses guarding the harbours of Havana in Cuba, and Cartagena in Colombia, and on her navy, at one time the finest in the world. In the seventeenth century, however, the convoys had ceased to sail, the fortifications had fallen into disrepair, the navy was virtually nonexistent. During the reigns of the Bourbons, new efforts were made in all three of these directions. In 1720, a 'project for Galeones and Flotas' was promulgated, ordering that regular convoys be resumed. But the system

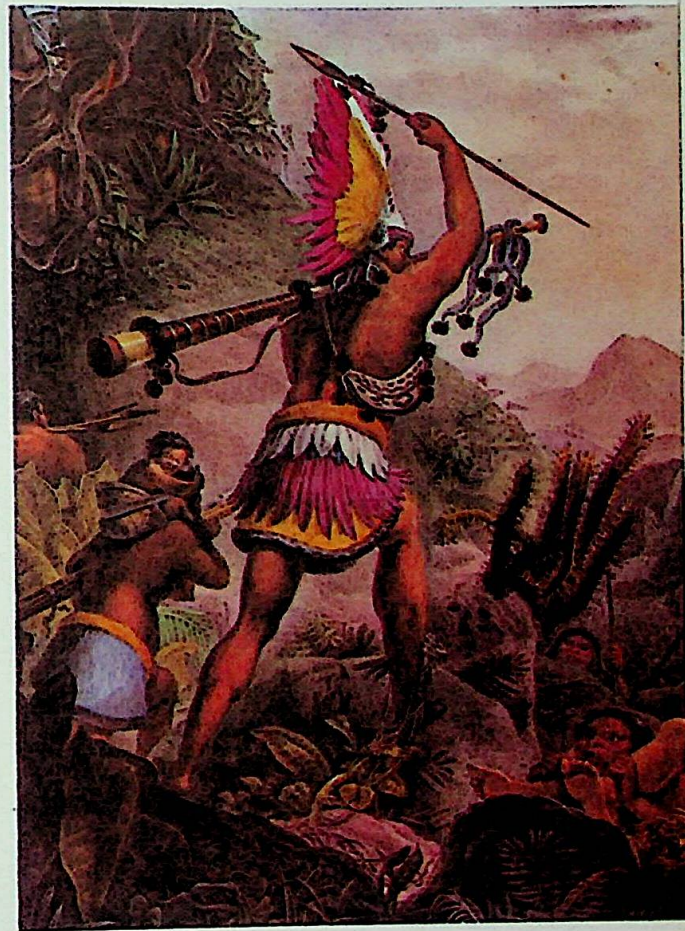
did not prove very adequate, and worked only intermittently. It was abolished in 1789. The fortifications however, were repaired to good effect—as the war of 1739 would show. Work on rebuilding the navy was begun in 1717 under Philip V. It was perhaps not as successful as the Bourbons had hoped, but within twenty years Spain could put some formidable fleets to sea.

Another important factor in terms of colonial defence, was the alliance between Spain and France which existed for most of the century. France and Spain together could hope to equal or surpass British power at sea, and the Spanish Empire was secure from the French assaults on its territorial integrity that had occurred so frequently in the seventeenth century.

Mexico saw the rise of a very large half-breed, or mestizo population in seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In Peru, however, the lower classes remained purely Indian to a much greater extent.

Left and above left: Indian peasants and horsemen from the Andes.

Above: the Araucanian Indians of Chile maintained a bitter guerilla warfare against the Spaniards throughout the whole period of colonial rule. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



The War of Jenkins' Ear

The renewed attempts of Spain to strengthen her empire came none too soon. Her rich possessions always incited the cupidity of her enemies, and British statesmen were certainly giving serious thought to the prospect of seizing or destroying her dominions. Indeed, the Anglo-Spanish conflict which broke out in 1739 was almost purely colonial in its origins.

One of Britain's chief gains at the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 had appeared to be the *asiento* contract. This had assured the South Sea Company of the right to deliver 4800 slaves a year for sale in the Spanish colonies, to keep factors in several Spanish American ports, and to send one shipload annually of British merchandise to the Spanish trade-fairs in the New World. It was expected that all this would be extremely lucrative. Yet great profits were

not in fact forthcoming, and for one reason or another many of the annual voyages did not take place. Nevertheless, the Spaniards felt they too, had grounds for complaint in that the British annual ships carried far more goods than the treaty had projected.

Worse still from the Spanish point of view was the constant smuggling of merchandise from the British Caribbean islands to the Spanish colonies. The introduction of the *guarda costas* somewhat checked this, but the over-enthusiastic seizures made by those vessels provoked great cries of rage in England against all sorts of real and supposed atrocities. Indeed the war of 1739 received its odd name when a Captain Jenkins produced his pickled ear in the British parliament, claiming it had been cut off by the Spaniards.

Relations between the two nations reached a crisis in 1738. The Spanish

government wished to avoid conflict, as did Robert Walpole in England. Other British statesmen were, however, already mentally carving up the Spanish Empire. When negotiations foundered in 1739, the English decided to open hostilities with a surprise attack in the Caribbean.

British statesmen seemed sure that the Spanish Empire was ready to fall like some overripe fruit; but ideas differed about the best way to shake the great tree. Some thought in terms of conquering territory, others of seizing strategic ports. Others still surmised that the best idea might be to aid the Spanish colonists in seeking independence because afterwards they were certain to trade mainly with Britain. In the end, much was left to the discretion of the commanders on the spot. Admiral Edward Vernon was despatched to the Caribbean with one fleet; another was to follow transporting a large army under



In the eighteenth century, as today, much of Brazil was covered by the great tropical rain-forest, and rivers were the only practical highways of communication.

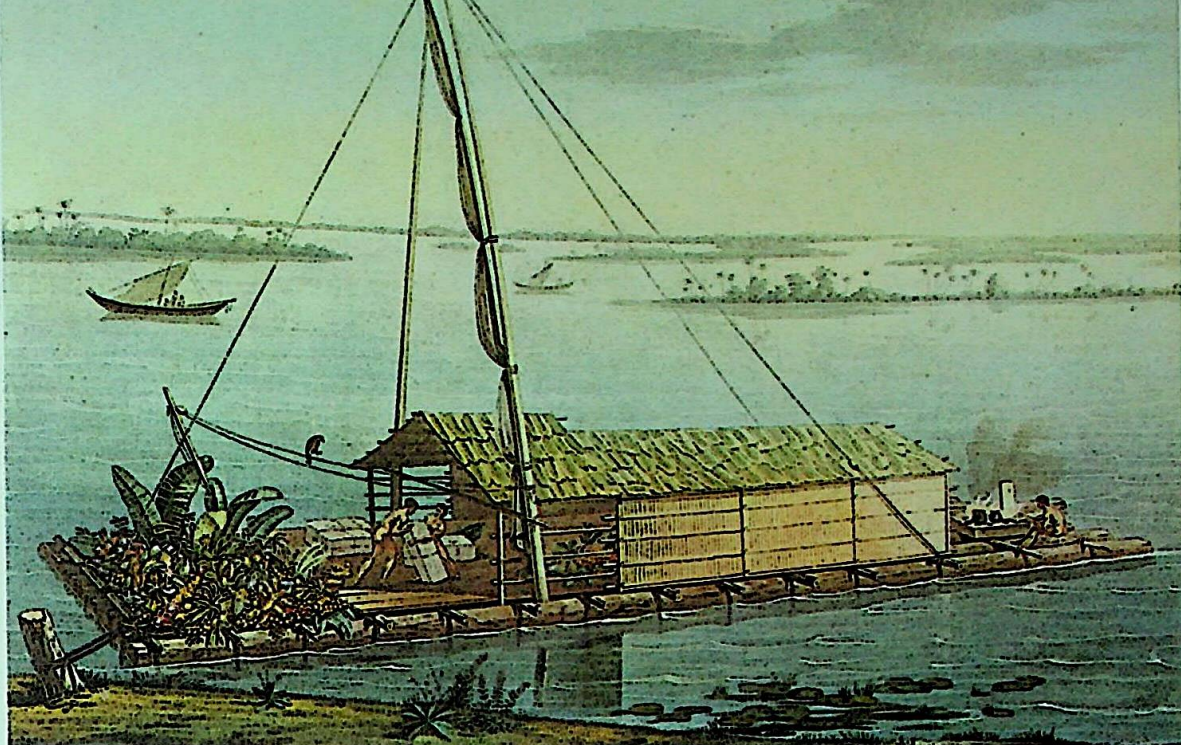
Right: an Indian maiden from the forests, and a party of slave-hunters making their way through the forest near the River Paraíba.

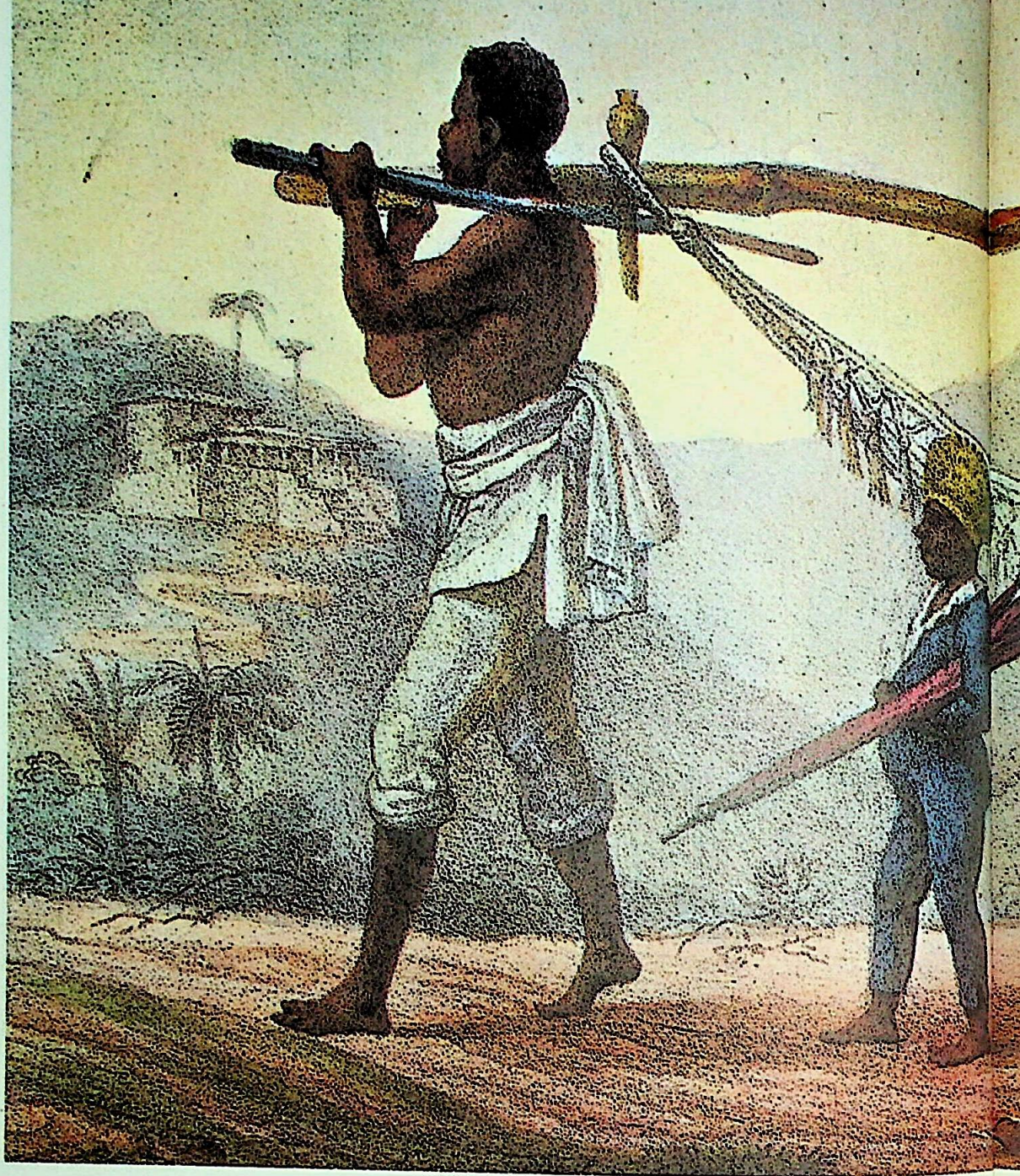
Far right, above: rafts carrying provisions moored near the mouth of the Guayaquil. Above: although horses were unknown in America until the arrival of the Spaniards, the Indians were quick to become expert in their use. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Lord Cathcart. Simultaneously, Commodore George Anson set sail on an epic voyage to raid the Spanish possessions in the Pacific, equipped with dozens of proclamations urging the colonists to revolt. Vernon arrived at Jamaica in October of 1739; a month later, and without declaration of war, he stormed and took Porto Bello in Panama with only six ships.

The Spaniards now looked to their defences. One good fleet lay in Cartagena harbour under the astute command of Don Blas de Lezo; another commanded by Admiral Torres was on its way to the Caribbean. Then came an intervention. In 1740, a French fleet under the Marquis d'Antin arrived at St Domingué. Though France was at peace with Britain, d'Antin had secret orders to attack; but before anything could happen sickness had ravaged the French and d'Antin sailed home. England and France remained at peace. Spain





*Above: a planter's residence.
Above right: roughing it in the colonies.
A wealthy planter travels in a hammock
carried by slaves.
Right: a U.S. ship trading illegally in a
Spanish-American port. Spain's rigid
mercantile laws, and the inefficiency of her
own industries, encouraged smuggling.
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*





was left to make the best of her own resources.

It soon became clear that the first blow would fall on the great fortified harbour of Cartagena, on what is now the north coast of Colombia. There the one-eyed, one-armed, lame Don Blas de Lezo was skillfully preparing defences. But in March of 1741 the British arrived in apparently overwhelming numbers—twenty-nine ships of the line, over a hundred smaller vessels, and some 23,000 men, of whom 15,000 were sailors. Despite the massive fortifications of Cartagena, the odds seemed against Don Blas and his 4,000 defenders. Yet it was time rather than numbers that was of the essence. A stubborn and drawn-out defence could allow Spanish America's two greatest weapons—malaria and yellow fever—to begin their deadly work.

The pattern of the campaign quickly became clear. The two admirals, Edward Vernon and Sir Chaloner Ogle, both old Caribbean hands, urged and themselves took quick action. But General Thomas

Wentworth, who succeeded in command when Lord Cathcart died, proved constitutionally incapable of hastening matters. With the navy leading, the outlying Spanish forts were taken and the harbour entered, while Don Blas carefully withdrew. At last only a single castle remained to the defenders, but it was beyond reach of naval bombardment. Wentworth now began, with exasperating slowness, to make dispositions for attack. His men were soon dying off from disease while the admirals fumed about 'gentlemen of parade . . . trained to nothing but reviews'. At last Wentworth attempted to assault the fort, but was repulsed with 650 casualties. By then hundreds of men were collapsing daily, and soon there were only 3,500 effective soldiers left of a force of 8,000. In May the British ignominiously withdrew.

Eyes now turned towards Cuba, but the Spaniards meanwhile had been hastening the reinforcement of Havana. With their own forces so depleted, the British therefore decided to destroy Santiago on the

southern shore of the island. The troops disembarked in July but Wentworth, again, sat and deliberated about whether or not to advance. At last he decided to await promised reinforcements from England, and again his men began to sicken and die. Finally, with over 2,000 dead or ill, he withdrew from the island in November.

When 3,000 British reinforcements did arrive at Jamaica, one last assault was planned against the Spaniards—a surprise landing at Porto Bello, followed by a rapid march across the isthmus to Panama City. On this occasion, Vernon, in bad temper, spoiled the surprise element, whereupon Wentworth refused to march.

When the remnants of the three successive disasters reached Jamaica for the last time, the irritation and lack of trust between the commanders had reached such proportions as to doom all further efforts. Vernon and Wentworth were either not speaking or were quarrelling; Vernon and Ogle became involved in a physical brawl with the governor of Jamaica; councils of war could not

be held. At last the Duke of Newcastle recalled both army and navy. Meanwhile, in the Pacific, Commodore Anson had fared better, attacking Spanish settlements and spectacularly capturing the richly laden Manila galleon. But the loss of two-thirds of his men from scurvy precluded his efforts to raise the Spanish colonies in rebellion.

The campaigns of the War of Jenkins's Ear are little remembered today, yet they are extremely important in the history of both the western hemisphere and of the world. During the Seven Years War, Britain had more success in wresting colonies from Spain, but the campaign she planned at that time was much more limited and less deadly in its scope. The Vernon-Wentworth expedition was the only one launched by Britain which might conceivably have destroyed or crippled the Spanish Empire and placed large areas of Latin America under British rule. The walls of Cartagena, the skill of Don Blas and the valour of his men, the mosquitoes that carried tropical diseases, had all co-operated to preserve Spain's dominions intact.

The fall of the Jesuits

Turning back to the internal politics of the Spanish Empire, the Roman Catholic Church in the colonies was well controlled by the Church in Spain, and virtually all of the most important positions in its hierarchy were in the hands of Spanish-born clergy. It was also an institution that was immensely opulent in the things of this world. By now, too, most of the Indians had been converted to Christianity although observers had felt that while they had lost their old faith they had not truly grasped the new. At any rate, during the 1700s, the Church remained firmly a bastion of the establishment.

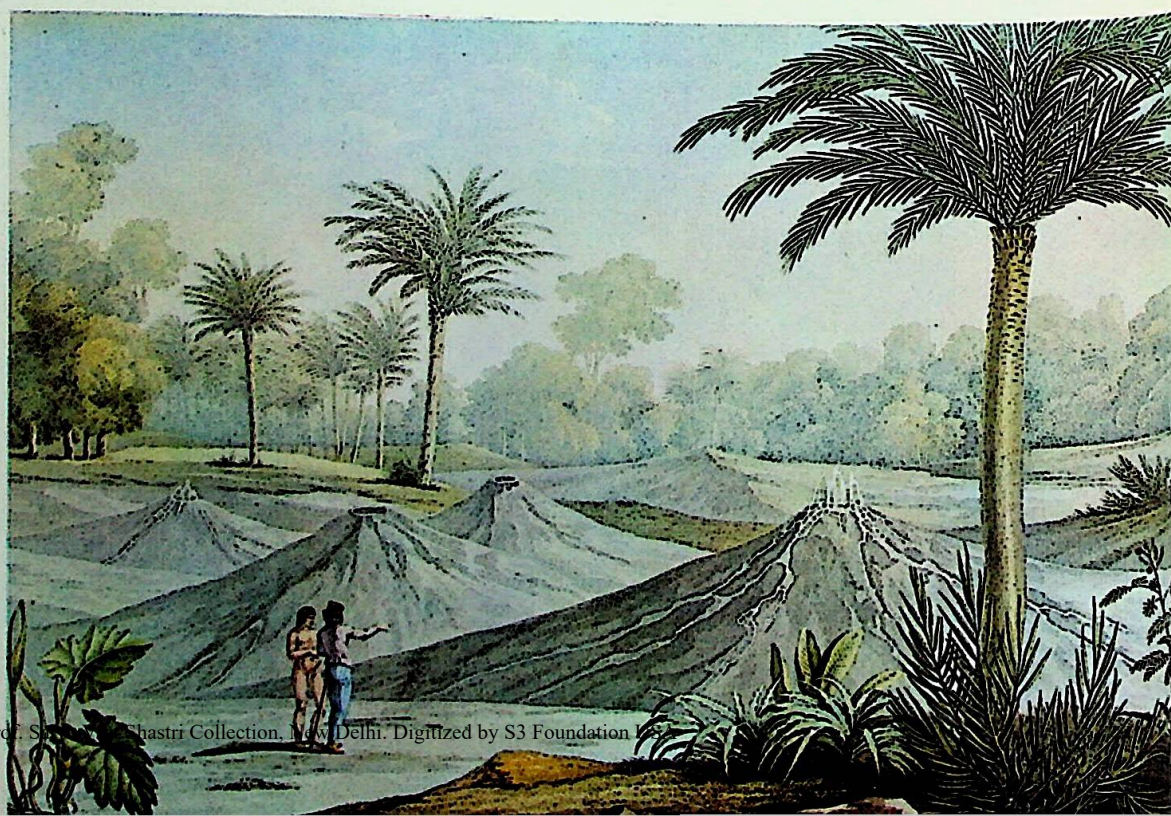
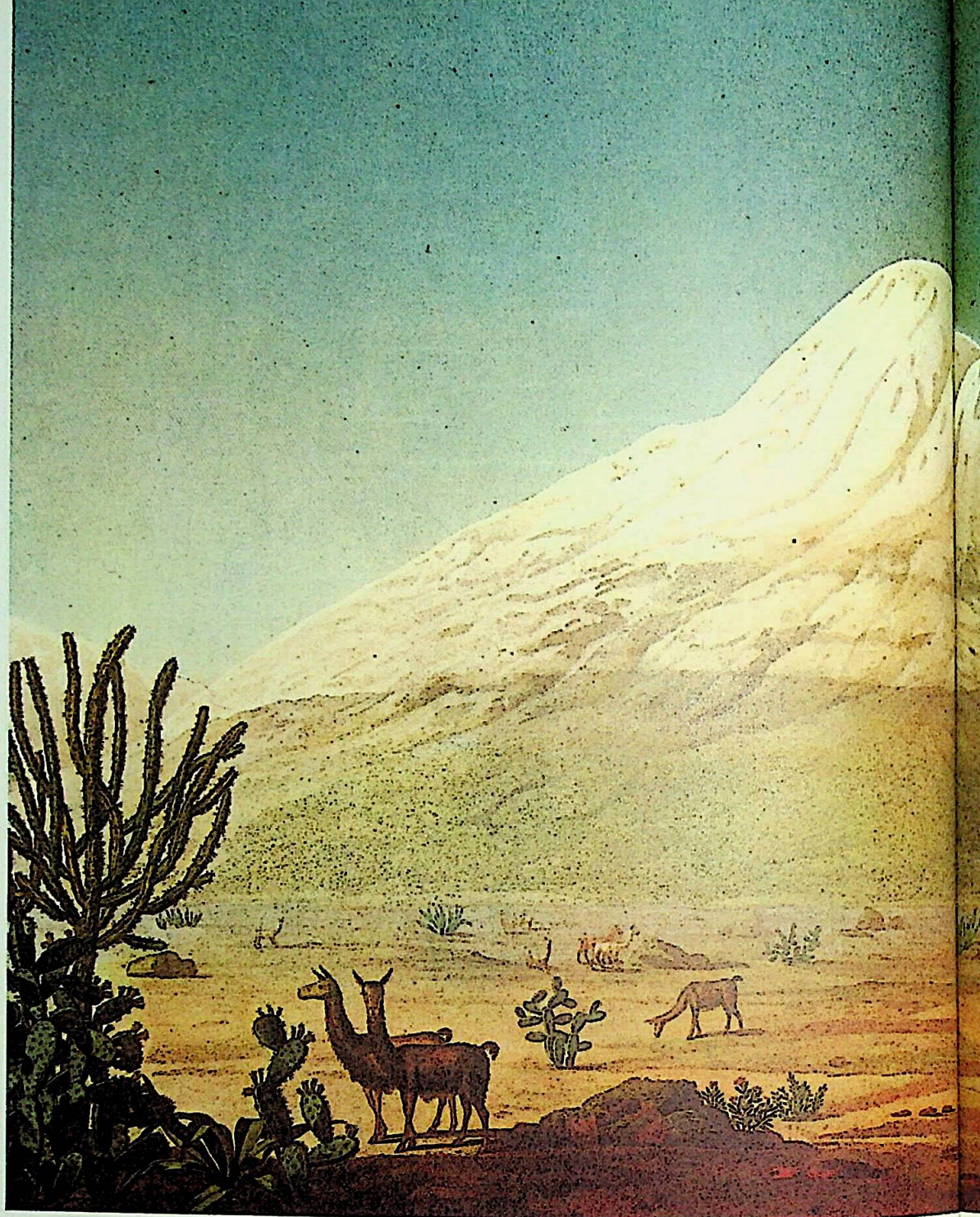
The chief exception to this rule was the

'A new and luminous land.'

Above right: an Ecuadorian volcano with llamas grazing in the foreground.

Right: hot springs where waters were considered conducive to health—volcanic soils in general are extremely fertile.

Extreme right: a toucan from a Brazilian forest. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





Jesuits. Through shrewd investments, the order grew rich, but not so its individual members, who remained poor and dedicated and worked under a rigid discipline. Following their secret investigation in the seventeen-forties, Juan and Ulloa reported: 'one does not see in them the lack of religion, the scandals and the loose behaviour so common in the others'. But the Jesuits, through championing the Indians, had always been disliked by the settlers. In 1767 they fell foul of the Crown as well. Charles III, annoyed by an order which was more loyal to Rome than to himself, ordered their expulsion. Whatever the merits of the case against them in Spain, the expulsion of the Jesuits was something of a disaster for the colonies. Missions fell apart, schools declined, hospitals and houses of charity disappeared. Especially pathetic were the results in the huge mission centre of Paraguay; there the rigid, theocratic sway that the Jesuits had exercised over the Indians might not have produced the best of all possible worlds: it was far better, however, than the breaking-up of the missions, the selling of land to rich planters, and the exploitation of Indian labour which followed it.

Land and labour

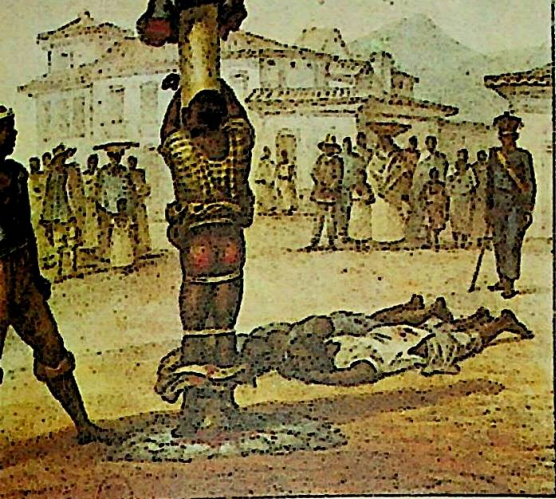
The decline and disappearance of the *encomiendas* in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries necessitated a new type of basic agricultural organisation. They were in fact replaced by the *haciendas*, or great estates, and by the system of peonage. The *haciendado* was the landowner, the peons his labour. This was not a system enforced or devised by any laws but was one which grew up informally. In theory, the peon was a free agricultural labourer who received wages for his work. And indeed, if he could somehow save any

Tupac Amaru

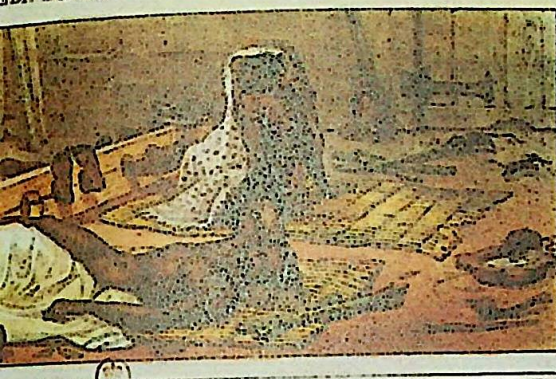
sort of organised resistance. Their occasional, small-scale revolts of desperation were easily crushed. On one single occasion, however, the Vice-royalty of Peru was shaken to its roots.

Naively believing that the local administrators were his only real enemies, Tupac called on the creoles to join in his revolt, and proclaimed himself a viceroy ruling





EDON DE LA PUNITION DU FOUET.



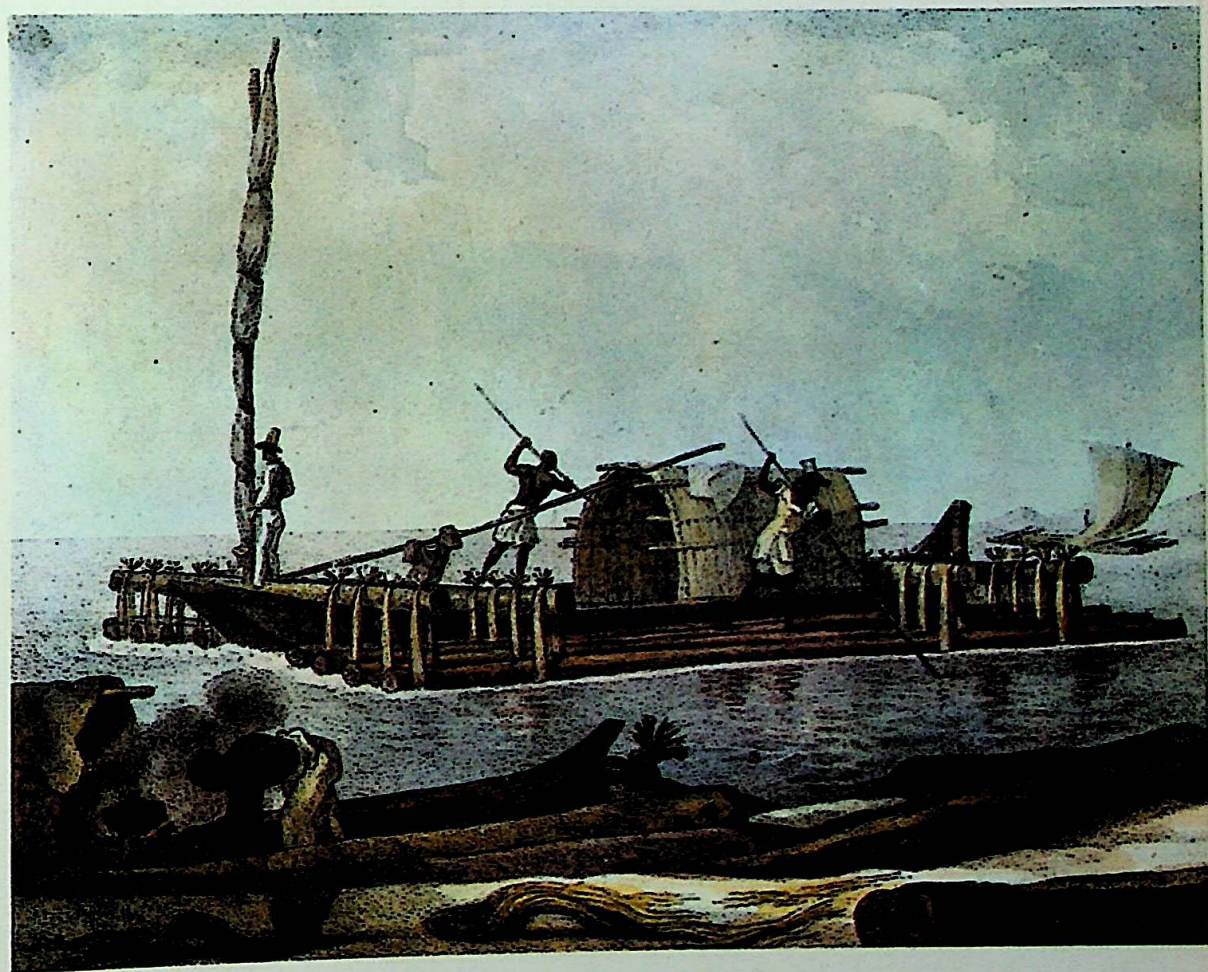
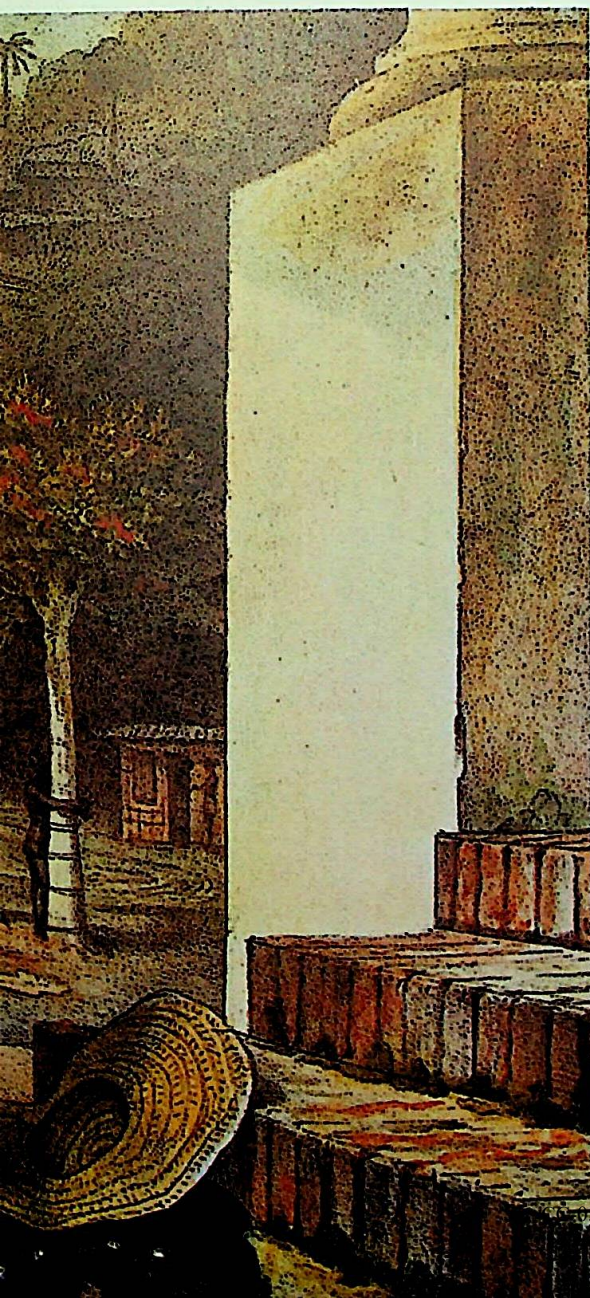
loyally on behalf of the Spanish king. After six months, however, regular soldiers and colonial militia dispersed his followers and Tupac himself was hideously tortured to death after witnessing the execution of his wife and family. But this only provoked another rebellion and more guerilla warfare. When it ended, over 80,000 Indians and settlers had perished. This, however, proved to be the one great, blind and hopeless revolt of the masses; the ultimate danger to Spanish rule came from the higher orders of society.

The horrors of planter-slave society. In all slave-owning territories the penal codes had one design: to prevent crime and rebellion by terror.

Left and below left: punishments being meted out to Negro malefactors in Brazil. Far left and below: the waters of Amazonia. In one scene caimans bask in a quiet backwater. In the other slaves pole huge rafts along. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Creoles and *gapuchines*

The varied peoples of the Spanish Empire were grouped in six great divisions derived from race of origin. There were Negroes, mulattoes, Indians, mestizos, white Americans of Spanish descent and, lastly, Spaniards born in Spain. It was the growing enmity between the last two groups that caused the greatest hazard to Spanish rule. Those Spaniards born in America called themselves *Americanos* and were called by others Creoles. Those born in Spain were known as *peninsulares*, or more derisively as

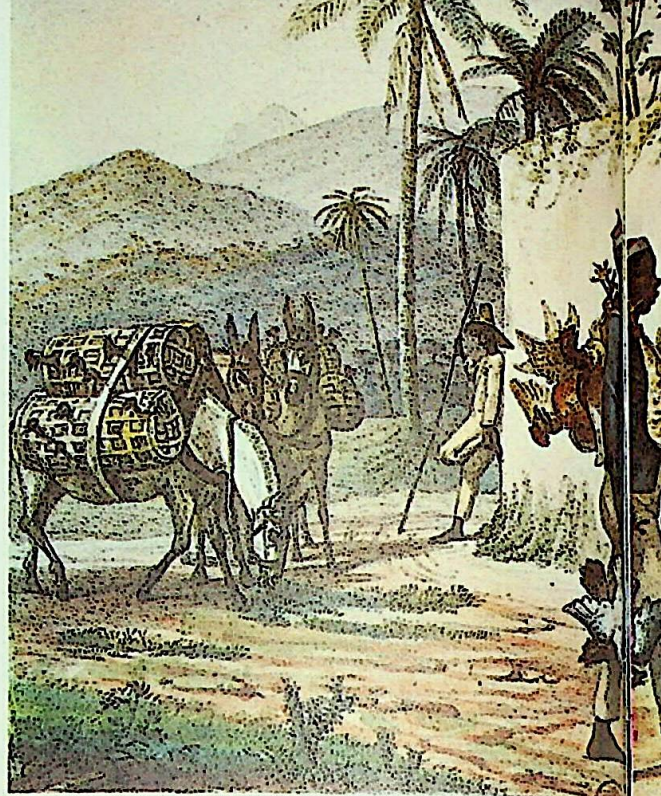


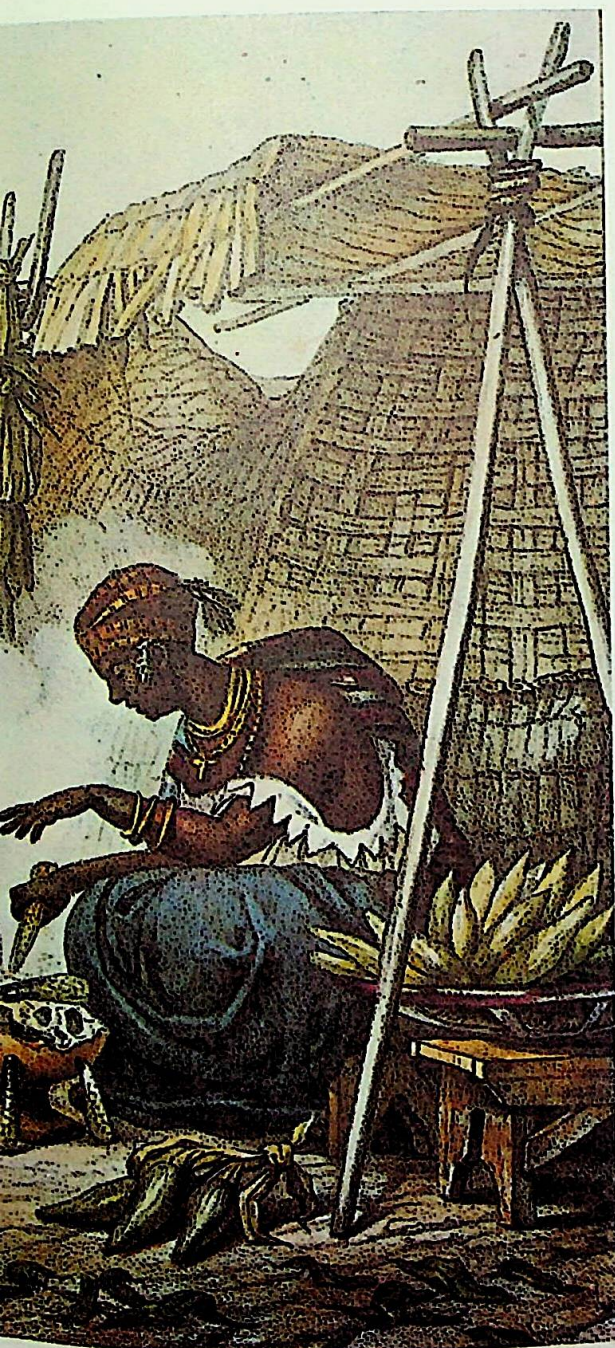
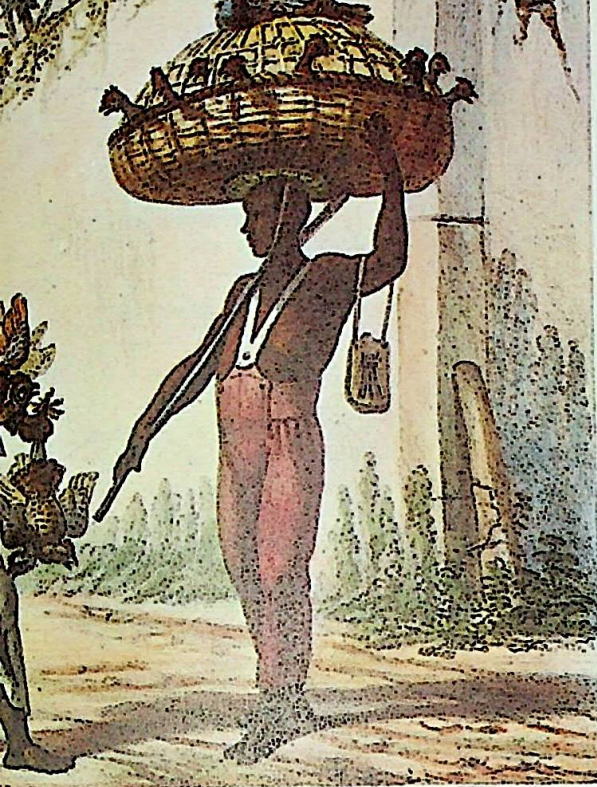
gapuchines. The Creoles had many reasons for their discontent. Politically, despite a few exceptions, they were consistently excluded by the Spaniards from the highest offices of Church and state. Economically, the Creole wholesalers of Mexico and Lima resented the privileges of the Spanish shippers in Seville and Cadiz. In the army and militia, Creole officers were slighted by those of Spanish birth. Most irritating of all, perhaps, was the social distinction. Invariably, people of Spanish origin, whatever their background, looked down on even the wealthiest Creoles of good family standing as being uncultured provincials. The Creole upper classes greatly resented this; they were willing to respect the viceroys and the *oidores*, but not the numerous minor Spanish officials. Between these groups a marked resentment grew. But the Creoles did not have the type of political institu-

tions, as the Americans in the British colonies had, through which to voice their grievances. Moreover, they were intensely loyal to the Spanish monarchy. And, in the last analysis, it was not until that monarchy itself fell into grave disrepute during the Napoleonic Wars that the New World decided to break with the Old.

Spanish American culture

Culture and the fine arts were respected in Spanish America. Mainly they took the form of provincial versions of the culture of old Spain, deriving a strange fascination from their setting in a new and luminous land. Although sporadic efforts were made to educate the Indians, these were usually discouraged on the correct assumption that they constituted a danger to the establishment. Culture, therefore, was mainly upper-





class culture, but it was widespread. Books were in great demand in the colonies, almost from the beginning of the conquest, and printing presses were early established in the Indies. Soon a stream of literature about New World subjects enriched that of the Old. Universities, modelled after the famous Spanish institution of Salamanca, were founded at an early date. Classes began in the University of Lima in 1572 and in Mexico in 1663. Some twenty-five institutions of higher learning had been organised by the end of the eighteenth century. The fields of drama, music, poetry, painting and sculpture all aroused enthusiastic interest. Little of true originality was produced, however, except for the poetry of Sor Ines de la Cruz, a nun with strange genius who became world famous.

Architecture, however, was a different matter, and here was found the most distinctive creativity of the Indies. The inspiration came from Alberto de Churriguera, a Spanish architect belonging to a school whose members extended the extravagance of the baroque style to such extremes that they became known as 'the delirious fools'. In the colonies this extravagance was pushed even farther, with predictably varying results, but it is generally agreed that Mexico now boasts perhaps as many masterpieces of the late baroque as all the rest of the world put together. Indeed, it could be said that a gorgeous Mexican cathedral, wherein great men and ladies knelt to pray beside crowds of wretched and unshod Indian peons, provides the most apt symbol of the Spanish empire as a whole—a breath-taking edifice, beautifully adorned, containing within its walls extremes of squalor and splendour.

Brazil

Compared with the glitter of the Spanish colonies, Portuguese Brazil appears more like some vast charnel house containing all of the vices of mankind, somewhat tempered by a certain tolerance and cheerful indolence. Urban life was neglected. Cities were small and unimportant, and churches unimpressive. Illiteracy and cultural ignorance were colossal; no printing press was set up, few books were imported, no universities were built. Life was rural, centring around the *fazenda*, or plantation, which sprawled over huge areas. One was larger than the whole kingdom of Portugal

itself. Here the planter ruled from his great house like an absolute monarch over his hundreds or thousands of subjects. Labour conditions were often atrocious.

Unlike the Spaniards, the Portuguese showed no qualms of conscience about the fate of the aboriginal inhabitants of the continent. From the beginning, Indians were brutally kidnapped and worked to death as slaves on the plantations. But there were never enough of them, and huge numbers of Negroes were imported from Angola and West Africa. Theoretically, Brazilian society was divided into a rigid caste system based on race. In practice, however, it was usually economic status that made the difference. The mulatto offspring of the planters and their slaves were often treated as whites and sometimes rose to high positions. And there were certainly plenty of mulattoes and mestizos. Miscegenation proceeded at an incredible rate. Quite unashamedly, the Portuguese planters displayed their large broods of multi-coloured and illegitimate children as a proof of their virility. This tremendous racial mixing was only partially caused by a relative lack of white women. Portuguese men had a positive preference for the exotic. Whereas Portuguese women were kept in seclusion and treated as an inferior species, a handsome mulatto mistress might obtain a position of power in the household. One contemporary observer noted 'Brazil is a hell for blacks, a purgatory for whites and a paradise for mulattoes.'

Portuguese colonial government was rather haphazardly modelled on that of Spain. An overseas council, set up in Lisbon, was somewhat analogous to the Supreme Council of the Indies. After Portugal itself became free from Spain in 1640, a viceroy was appointed to rule Brazil, but this position was soon dropped in favour of the less royal title of captain-general. Under the captain-general the vast area of the colony was subdivided into several captaincies, while in the north, the state of Maranhão was ruled independently from Lisbon. Portuguese government, however, never attained the same degree of centralised authority and control as did its Spanish counterpart. How could it? Portugal was a tiny nation with a population of less than two million. In the seventeenth century, when the empire extended over large areas of Africa and in the countries bordering the Indian Ocean, it has been estimated that there were only about 10,000 Portuguese active throughout the whole of it. As the eastern empire declined, however, interest in Brazil increased. This became especially true after the discovery of gold and diamonds in the early eighteenth century. When, in this era, the king of Portugal could describe Brazil as his 'milch cow', royal authority was effectively extended somewhat further. Yet by Spanish standards Brazil was always lightly ruled.

Daily life among the Negroes.
Above left: a chicken market—most slaves were given one day a week to take their produce to market.
Left: a man carries charcoal; a woman cooks maize. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

The beginnings of the history of the Church in Brazil commenced with the arrival of six Jesuit priests in 1549. In 1551 the Portuguese king was made Grand Master of the Order of Christ by the pope and given much the same exclusive control of the Church in his realms as the Spanish monarchs exercised in theirs. The growth of Church organisation in Brazil was slow, but Roman Catholicism was always of great importance in the social development of the colony. The numerous secular clergy, however, quickly identified themselves with the planter class, and came under the influence of the great estate owners as much as anyone in the colony. Again, the Jesuits were an exception. Alone, they saw their main duty in protecting and Christianising the Indians. They learned Indian languages, built dozens of mission villages and generally protected their charges (sometimes behind barricades) from the rapacity of slave hunters. In doing so, they earned the antipathy of virtually all other white people in the colony.

The gold of the Minas Gerais

It was in the seventeenth century that the Portuguese began to move inland from the coast. The absorption of the Portuguese Empire by the Spanish between 1580 and 1640 had one advantage for Brazil. The Spaniards allowed the colony's boundaries to be extended farther westwards than the line originally drawn by the Treaty of Tordesillas. The initial agents for this expansion were the ferocious Paulistas of the south from the area around São Paulo. These wild men, usually of mixed Portuguese and Indian blood, began to roam the hinterlands, hunting down Indians whom they sold as slaves. Their horrible raids destroyed many Indian tribes, but they also opened up much country which was eventually filled by the *vaqueiros*—the cowboys and stockmen who came after them.

In the sixteen-nineties roaming Paulistas discovered large deposits of alluvial gold in the area that came to be known as the Minas Gerais. Soon the first great gold rush of modern times had begun. People flocked in from all parts of the colony and from Portugal itself. They came from all walks of life: planters deserted their plantations, merchants their shops, priests their churches and monasteries. Soon these newcomers were fighting a civil war with the Paulistas—the War of the Emboabas. The Paulistas were defeated, but pushing farther inland eventually discovered diamond fields as well.

The Portuguese court rejoiced. With his new-found wealth the king was able to improve his political position by ceasing to call his parliament, while his display of opulence astonished Europe. In the long run, however, the gold rush brought little of lasting good to either colony or kingdom.

In Brazil itself, it marked the blackest period of its history. Gold was everything; and to get it out thousands of Indians and Negro slaves were viciously worked to death. Plantations were neglected. Agriculture declined and many observers of the time felt that the colony was ruined and would sink into barbarism. Nor did the quantities of gold shipped across the ocean bring much that was lasting to Portugal. It caused inflation, was squandered by the king, and ultimately almost all of it disappeared from the nation into the shrewder hands of the English and Dutch.

Pombal

During the eighteenth century, Portuguese colonial administration saw one brief period of enlightened rule reminiscent of the era of Charles III in Spain. During the reign of Charles's Portuguese contemporary Joseph I, virtually dictatorial powers were given to the able and energetic Marquis of Pombal. Pombal's most important reforms took place within Portugal itself, but he also attempted to deal in a like manner with the colonies. In Brazil there was a further effort made to strengthen and centralise royal authority. At the same time, several monopolistic trade companies were incorporated in an attempt to encourage colonial commerce. Pombal was also interested in humanitarian ideas. Little was done for the Negroes, but a serious attempt was made to establish equality for the American Indians. Not only was Indian slavery prohibited, but all forms of forced labour. Intermarriage between Portuguese and Indians was encouraged and all, except Negroes, were to be considered equal.

Pombal's reforms are more interesting for their intention than for their achievement. The attempt to improve administration mainly disappeared in the bogs of bureaucratic inefficiency. The chartered companies were never a great success, and the enlightened legislation regarding Indians fell into abeyance after Pombal's death. In the long run his most lasting reform was for the worst. He, too, suppressed the Jesuits, a measure which pleased the planters but, as usual, had catastrophic results for the Indians.

Tiradentes

Brazilian colonial history was more notable for the number of revolts by the servile and oppressed classes than was that of the Spanish possessions, although none was as serious as the great rebellion of Tupac Amaru. Many Negro slaves rose against their masters on isolated plantations, and thousands escaped to the backwoods where they sometimes formed independent communities. One of these, the so-called Republic of Palmares, maintained itself for a decade against bands of Paulistas hired by

the captain-general to destroy it. One of the major factors leading to the expulsion of the Jesuits had been a three-year war against Indians who had been ordered to evacuate their mission villages when Brazil took over a piece of territory formerly occupied by Spain. But the most interesting uprising occurred in the late eighteenth century in the area of the Minas Gerais. There the mineworkers, outraged when the government attempted to raise its profits from gold by increasing their taxes and lowering their wages, found a leader in one Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, a jack-of-all-trades, who had at one time worked as a dentist, and was nicknamed Tiradentes, or 'the tooth puller'. After organising the workers and voicing their protests, Tiradentes called for large measures of social reform including the institution of a university, the abolition of slavery, the establishment of factories and, most important, the independence of Brazil from Portugal. The armed rebellion which he led was, however, quickly suppressed. Tiradentes was beheaded in 1792 but became a martyr and subsequently a national hero.

By 1800, the colony of Brazil had staked out what are roughly the boundaries of the Brazilian nation of today—sprawling over half a continent. Much of it was, and is, unoccupied. Other areas proved rich in agricultural and mineral resources. Its history was marked by unheard of atrocities against Indians and Negroes, and yet also by a less rigid colour bar between races than proved typical in most of the western hemisphere. In the ranks of the upper classes, there was something of the same cleavage between Creole Brazilians and people born in Portugal that existed in the Spanish dominions. On the other hand, these differences were muted by the relative lightness of Portuguese rule. Brazil, however, had grown into a much more important community than Portugal itself, and was unlikely to endure a second-rate status for ever. In the end, the Portuguese American empire, like the Spanish, fell as a direct result of turmoil in Europe. Yet in Brazil, Portuguese power was to subside by means of a series of gentle collapses, rather than to disappear precipitately by spectacular revolution.

Latin America in the late colonial period. With the exception of Brazil, which belonged to Portugal, almost all the continent and Mexico was a Spanish dominion. Most of South America was originally administered from Lima as the Vice-Royalty of Peru, but this proved to be unmanageable and the creation of New Granada and La Plata did much to stimulate the empire's progress. The Mission State of Paraguay was a prosperous Jesuit enclave but the order aroused the wrath of Charles III and the state was disbanded, with tragic results for the Indians.



THE EUROPEANS IN AMERICA

Latin America	North America	Europe
1500		Charles of Spain becomes Emperor Charles V (1519)
The Conquest of Mexico (1521)	Giovanni de Verrazano reaches the coast of New York (1523)	
Creation of Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies (1524)		The Peasants Revolt (1524) Charles V abdicates. Accession of Philip II (1527)
The Conquest of Peru (1531)	Jacques Cartier begins exploration of the St Lawrence (1534)	
Mendoza's administration in Mexico begins (1535)		Ignatius Loyola first president of Jesuit order (1541)
Las Casas achieves new laws for the Indians (1542) Discovery of silver mountain at Potosí (1545)		Council of Trent (1545) Disputation on the rights of the Indians at Valladolid (1550)
Toledo's administration in Peru begins (1569) University of Lima founded (1572)	Sir Humphrey Gilbert claims Newfoundland for England (1583)	Portugal absorbed by Spain (1580)
		Death of Philip II of Spain (1598)
1600		English East India Company founded (1600) Death of Elizabeth I of England. Accession of James I (1603)
Spanish Jesuits at La Plata (1605)	Jamestown founded by Christopher Newport (1607) Champlain founds Quebec, reaches Great Lakes (1608) The Dutch on the Hudson River (1609)	Gunpowder Plot (1605)
	John Rolph starts tobacco cultivation in Virginia (1612)	Assassination of Henri IV (1610)
Raleigh in Guiana (1616)		Richelieu becomes secretary of state (1616)
The Dutch in Guiana (1620)	Pilgrim Fathers arrive at Cape Cod (1620)	
The French in Guiana (1625)		Death of James I. Accession of Charles I (1625) Richelieu organises Company of New France (1627)

Latin America	North America	Europe
The Dutch in Brazil (1630)		
The Dutch leave Brazil (1640)	Founding of Maryland by Cecil Calvert (1632)	Portugal regains independence (1640) Execution of Charles I (1649)
	Capture of Jamaica by the British (1655)	
University of México founded (1663) Hudson Bay Company awarded royal charter (1670)	Carolina Charter (1663)	Restoration. Accession of Charles II (1660) Treaty of Madrid (1670)
	Marquette and Joliet reach the Mississippi (1673) La Salle follows Mississippi to its mouth (1682) Hostilities between England and France (1689)	War of the League of Augsburg (1689) Treaty of Ryswick (1697)
1700	Sack of Deerfield by Indians (1707) Nicholson secures Nova Scotia for England (1710) Loss of Hill's fleet in the St Lawrence (1711)	Bourbon dynasty in Spain. Philip V (1700) Treaty of Utrecht (1713)
Creation of Spanish Ministry of Marine and the Indies (1714) Creation of new Vice-royalties of New Granada and La Plata (1717)	Founding of New Orleans by Bienville (1718) Founding of Georgia by Oglethorpe (1733)	
	Montcalm seizes Oswego (1756) British take Louisbourg (1758) Wolfe captures Quebec. Montreal surrenders (1759)	War of Jenkins' Ear (1739) Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) Accession of Charles III of Spain (1759) Peace of Paris (1763)
Expulsion of the Jesuits from Paraguay (1767) Rebellion of Tupac Amaru in Peru (1780) Rebellion of Tiradentes in Brazil (1792)		

The Act of Union in 1707 brought Scotland and England together as Great Britain. Right: a Scottish gentleman portrayed in the hunting poses so characteristic of the time. (National Gallery, Edinburgh.)





England in the eighteenth century

A new king for the English; an old king's decline; Bourbon glory and an uneasy Europe; the inevitable war; the rise and fall of Marlborough; another strange king; the first prime minister; the South Sea Bubble; Bonnie Prince Charlie; the culture of England; John Wesley; the American Revolution.

The eighteenth century saw the culmination of the great Anglo-French struggle for colonial empire. The outcome was profoundly affected by the domestic history of each country during the same period. France had undoubtedly greater resources, and both nations saw a large influx of commercial wealth. But whereas the British adapted their institutions to utilise such riches, the French were continually straining within the archaic strait-jacket of the *ancien régime*. The result was that the most remarkable event of the century in each country was a revolution, but where the British

upheaval was industrial, that of the French was political. The French Revolution ultimately released the long-constrained energies of that nation, but by 1789 Britain had already won the duel for empire and established an ever-growing hegemony of the world outside Europe.

The Glorious Revolution: William and Mary

On 5 November 1688 William of Orange landed in England, and a month and a half later King James II wisely fled the country.

An observer of the time might have thought these occurrences were typical of the English. For over a generation, England had appeared to be one of the most unstable states in Europe. One king had been

Social welfare in eighteenth-century England: the Anglican Church attempted to care for the elderly indigents of the parish. It was rarely, however, that the latter were served in such genteel fashion as in the picture above. (British Museum, London.)



The effective power of the monarchy declined during the reign of the early Hanoverians, who were as interested in Germany as in England, and who could not grasp the structure of British politics. But the idea that George I did not attend cabinet meetings because he spoke no English is a myth: ministerial discussions were carried on in French.

Above: George I. Below right: George II. (National Portrait Gallery, London.)

Above right: an inimitable caricature by Hogarth of an election in a rotten borough. (Soane Museum, London.)

predecessor. The best thing about him was his wife Mary, who at least was of pure Stuart lineage. They were to reign together as William III and Mary II.

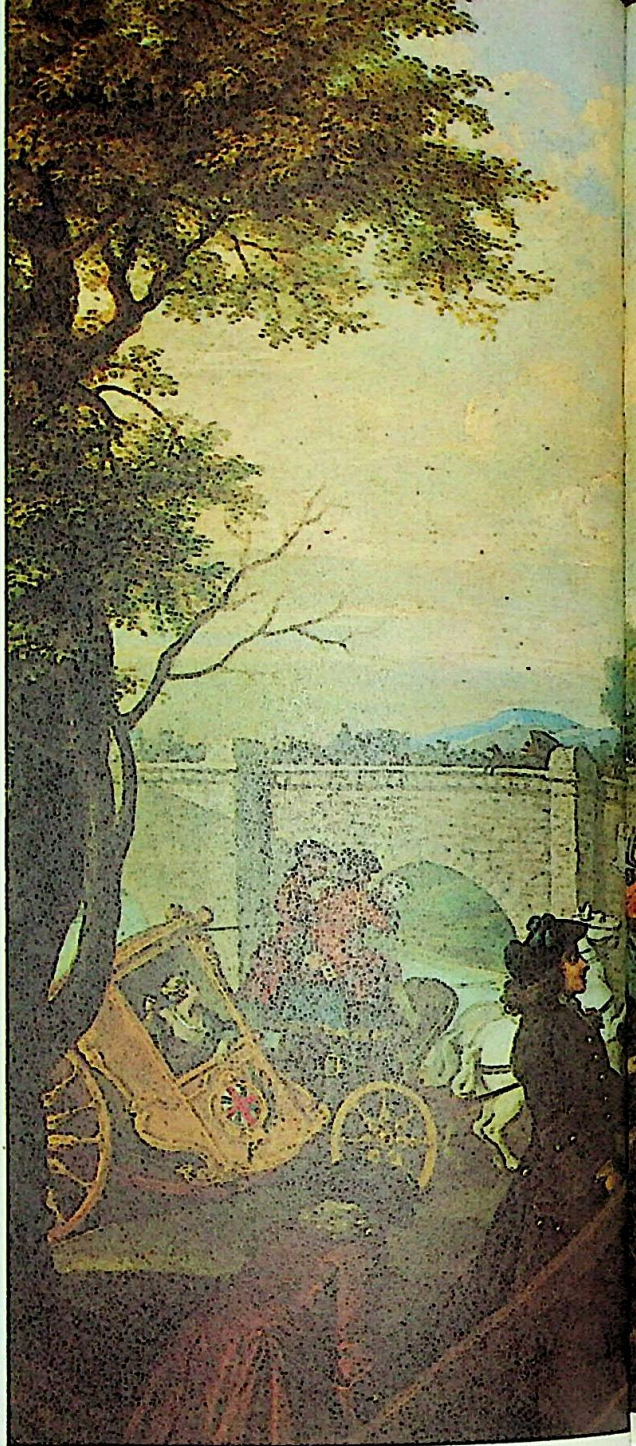
As it was felt necessary to bridle somewhat the powers of the monarchy, the two new rulers did not ascend the throne without conditions. Before their arrival, a convention had met and produced a declaration of rights which was later converted into the Bill of Rights. By this it was maintained that Parliament should be called frequently, while William was deprived of the power to maintain a standing army in time of peace on his own authority.

In all this the king agreed. Of course his freedom of action was somewhat limited, but then so was his interest. William was a constructive monomaniac. The sole driving passion of his life was his hatred of France. But at least this was not simply an empty obsession, rather he saw more clearly than others the magnitude of the threat to Europe of French hegemony. For aid against France he was willing to sacrifice some of his powers as a domestic monarch.

So England entered the War of the League of Augsburg which was waged until 1697. Despite few victories and many defeats, the great confederacy of European nations that William had scraped together was ultimately successful in curbing the expansionist activities of Louis XIV. Yet Englishmen at home became dissatisfied. They did not see the need for the fighting in quite the same lucid clarity as did their leader, and it certainly brought little in the way of glory. True, William decisively trounced James II in the Battle of the Boyne when the latter landed in Ireland, but the country was beginning to get restive.

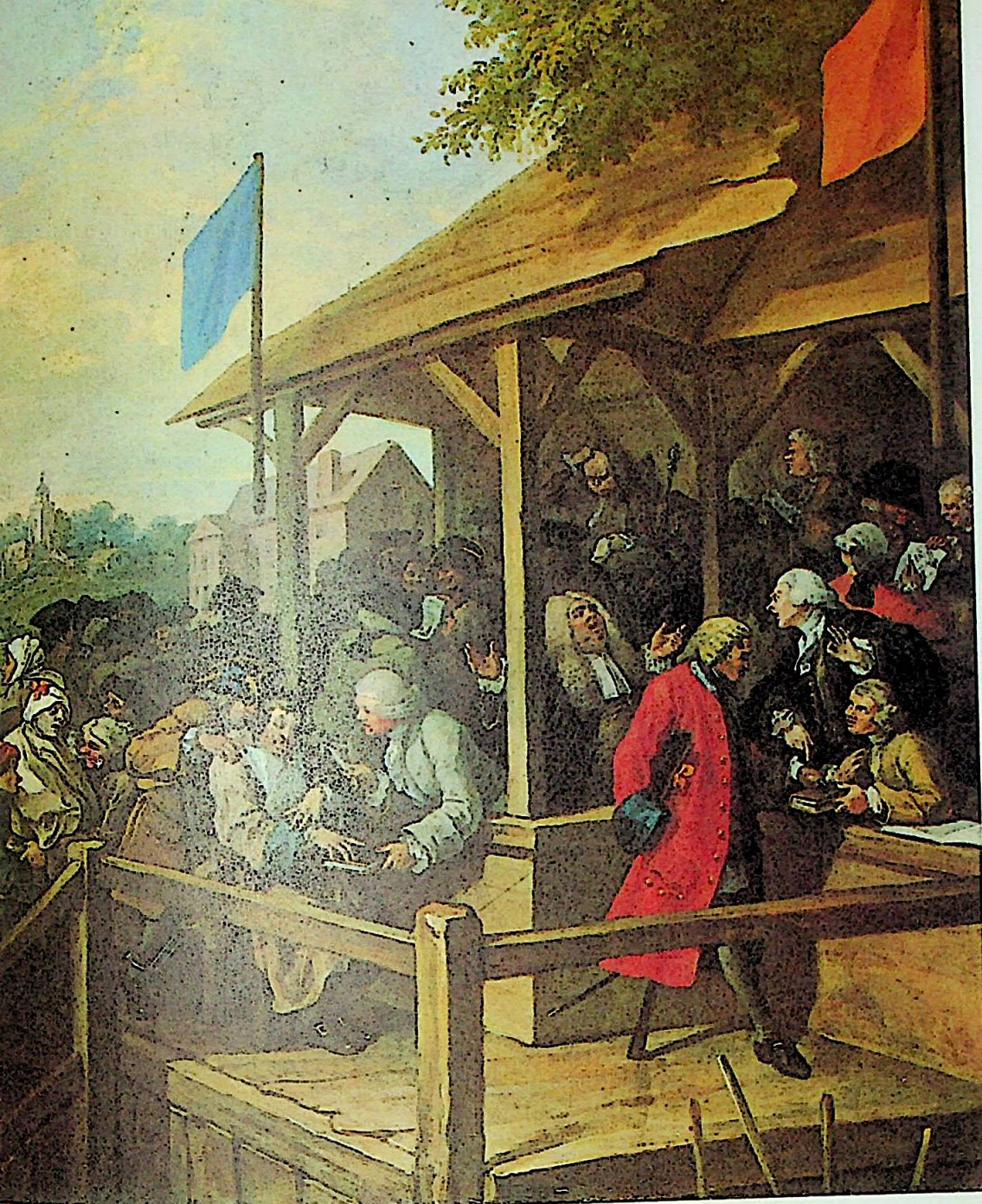
William did little to counteract the growing mood of disenchantment with himself. Though he was willing perforce to share some of his power with Parliament, he did his best to avoid placing much of it in the hands of a single political party. This annoyed the Whigs, who had done most to bring him to power. Between 1694 and 1698, in control of Parliament, they forced themselves upon him, but their own avarice for power and place soon made them much disliked, while the king's popularity also continued to decline, especially after the death of Queen Mary in 1694.

More and more, politics fell into a state of confusion and more and more, political leaders began opening up secret correspondence with James, 'the king across the water'. By the time of the election of 1698, James II was hoping to return to his country not by conquest but by the dutiful recall by his loyal subjects. The election itself saw heavy gains for the Tories, led by the shrewd and devious Robert Harley, and these were pushed further in the election of 1700. Then, as the House of Commons became more resolutely hostile to the king, the succession problem created yet another



executed and another driven from his throne. The country had lurched wildly from monarchy to republic and back to monarchy again. A great civil war had been fought. It was anything but clear in 1688 that this chaotic phase was over, but it had in fact passed for ever. The next era would be one of great political stability compared with other nations. During this period, the English would show a positive genius for the creation and sensible use of their national wealth. Internal peace and orderly government would allow the nation to develop commerce, extend its empire, and defeat its largest imperial rival, France. The wealth so accumulated would then be ploughed into manufacturing to create the Industrial Revolution. Thus England would eventually transform the world in a way that no single nation has ever done again.

The English accepted their new ruler with some misgiving. Though a Protestant, the lean and tubercular Dutchman was not much more attractive personally than his



paid annually, the original loan was allowed to remain, and thus the National Debt came into being. The bank was incorporated and allowed to issue notes, although not at first as legal tender. Despite an early run on it, and a moratorium, the bank survived, prospered and was able to declare a dividend of 20 per cent after the war. It proved to be one of the most important steps in England's march to world empire.

Queen Anne's Whigs and Tories

The reign of the homely and rather inept Queen Anne was both enhanced and dominated by the War of the Spanish Succession, marked by the incomparable victories of the Duke of Marlborough. During this period domestic policies were noted for the strife between the Whigs and the Tories, which rose and fell in bitterness erratically, reflecting the fortunes of the war itself. At the beginning, however, the nation was united and led by a coalition government headed by the two great non-party ministers, Lord Godolphin and Marlborough himself. Behind the scenes the queen was greatly influenced by her intense friendship with the Whiggish Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, though Anne's own bias lay towards the Tories, principally because of her love of the Church of England in its High Church form.

It did not take long for the early harmony to disappear, and discord erupted between the Tory-controlled House of Commons and the Whig-controlled House of Lords as early as 1702.

The high Tories now became more and more critical of the conduct of the war, but this proved to be a disastrously wrong move. Soon the Duke of Marlborough was winning victories of greater magnitude than the English had enjoyed for over a hundred years. The country was swept with patriotic ardour, and in the election of 1705 both the Whigs and a group of Tories—led by the too-clever Harley—who supported the ministry made substantial gains. For the next four years the Whigs steadily increased their position, but at the same time managed thoroughly to overplay their hand. Their arrogant pursuit of power alienated the queen, who was also beginning to tire of the Duchess of Marlborough. In 1707 Abigail Masham, a relative of Harley's, began to replace Sarah in Anne's favour. This lured Harley himself into making a premature coup to secure the dismissal of Lord Godolphin. But Marlborough's threat of resignation temporarily ended the matter, and it was Harley himself who resigned.

Nevertheless, the year of 1709 saw the beginning of the Whig downfall. In November, a controversy over the sermon of one Dr Sacheverell led many people, including the queen herself, to feel that Godolphin and the ministry were attacking the Church.

crisis. William and Mary had left no offspring and all the many children of the heir apparent, the Princess Anne, had died. This necessitated an Act of Settlement, which stated that in the event of both William and Anne dying without heirs, the throne was to pass to a member of the Protestant ruling family in Hanover, which was related to the Stuart house by marriage.

Meanwhile, in Europe, the dynastic ambitions of Louis XIV and the imbecility of the dying King Charles II of Spain had created a situation which raised the spectre of a future in which the mighty empires of both France and Spain would be ruled by a single monarch. In order to forestall this, William began laboriously to construct a new grand alliance which was completed in September of 1701. In England the idea of a new war brought great consternation, but Louis XIV managed to play directly into the hands of his enemies. When James II died a few days after the alliance was negotiated, Louis stupidly recognised James' son, the 'Old Pretender' as King

James III of England. This ended divisions in the country completely. And when William III died a few months later, the country cheerfully embarked on the war he had begun under the leadership of its new sovereign, Anne, and her general, John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough.

The Bank of England

War costs money. Between 1688 and 1815, England was to fight no less than five colossal wars with her great enemy, France. The ultimate success of the British was owing in no small measure to the fact that in the very first of these conflicts they developed sophisticated methods of finance. King William's War of the Grand Alliance placed immense strains on the nation, but British business proved equal to the occasion. The most important expedient devised was the Bank of England. The new bank raised £1,200,000 from the public in twelve days and loaned it to the government at 8 per cent. So long as the interest was

Canaletto painted London with a luminous beauty that has never been surpassed. Below: a view of the Thames showing Westminster to the left, and with St Paul's in the distant background on the right. (National Gallery, Prague.)

The picture on the right shows the entrance to the Fleet River. In the eighteenth century, the lack of embankments gave parts of the city a Venetian flavour. (Guildhall Art Gallery, London.)





Moreover, dissatisfaction with the seemingly interminable war was now rapidly increasing. Finally, the friendship between the queen and the Duchess of Marlborough broke down completely. In 1710 Robert Harley persuaded Anne to turn out Godolphin himself. The elections held later in the year resulted in a huge Tory majority. Shortly afterwards even Marlborough was curtly dismissed, and the greatest English military hero since the Middle Ages retired to Holland where his services were still appreciated.

Anti-war feeling was sweeping the country, and the queen now created twelve Tory peers, to give that party control of both Houses of Parliament. After long negotiations, the Peace of Utrecht was signed in April of 1713.

Yet the Tory triumph was to be a brief one. In December of 1713 the queen became seriously ill and this raised the vexing problem of succession. Many Tories would have preferred to see James Stuart, the 'Old Pretender', called to the throne, and a leader of this group, the young Viscount Bolingbroke, secured the overthrow of Harley, now Earl of Oxford, on 27 July 1714. But instead of power going to Bolingbroke himself, it fell to the enigmatic Duke of Shrewsbury, a moderate Tory who gave the casting vote in support of the Hanoverian succession on the very day before Queen Anne died on 1 August.

One important aspect of her reign remains to be mentioned. The dead queen had begun ruling over two nations and ended by reigning over one. It had long been obvious that England and Scotland, separate kingdoms although ruled by the same monarch, must move either further apart or closer together. The English had been worried over Scottish loyalty; the Scots attracted by opportunities of participating in England's colonial empire. So, after some serious bargaining, the Scots gave up their own parliament and agreed to the Hanoverian succession. On 1 May 1707 the Act of Union was settled, and both Scotland and England merged into the United Kingdom of Great Britain.

'When George in pudding time came o'er'

George Lewis, Elector of Hanover, the gross, concupiscent and somewhat vicious man who had become king of Great Britain, arrived in the country in September of 1714. His reign was to mark something of a decline in the effective powers of the monarchy. It was not that any constitutional changes took place, or that the new king was uninterested in British politics. But he was absent in Hanover for long periods, and he did not have the mentality to grasp the structure of the British system sufficiently to manipulate it. His accession to power, however, was remarkably uneventful, owing to the good

management of Shrewsbury.

One thing that became rapidly clear was that the day of the Tories was over. Those who had any dealing with the Stuarts were brutally snubbed; even those who had not, like Shrewsbury, soon faded away. The Tory downfall was completed when Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormonde fled to France and joined the court of the Old Pretender. This resulted in the abortive and mismanaged Scottish rebellion of 1715, after which most Tories seemed tainted with Jacobitism.

The hour of the Whigs had therefore arrived, and was soon confirmed by their resounding election victory in 1715. Who would lead them? The man who quickly shouldered his way to the top was Marlborough's former general, Lord Stanhope. Stanhope's principal policy was to restore Britain's proper position in Europe after the diplomatic isolation which had arisen from the Peace of Utrecht, when Harley's Tory administration had abandoned the nation's allies in its indecent haste to end the war. In the next six years Stanhope worked towards this end, conducting a brilliant diplomacy.

But dissensions soon appeared within the Whig Party itself. Robert Walpole, the able chancellor of the exchequer, backed by Viscount Townshend, was intent on economy. The Earl of Sunderland supported Stanhope, whose diplomacy, with its expensive subsidies to various continental nations, was costly. The two factions had more or less fought each other to a draw when the whole country was rocked by the famous South Sea Bubble crisis. In 1720 the South Sea Company came up with a plausible proposal to take over the whole of the National Debt on remarkably favourable terms. This was eagerly accepted by Sunderland, and resulted in a wild rise in the value of the company's shares, which had increased by 1,000 per cent in August of 1720. Then the inevitable reaction set in; the shares slumped, and thousands of people were ruined. A storm of indignation broke over the government, with charges of bribery and corruption. Walpole, who had earlier established public financial confidence with a sinking fund, was hastily called in to save the situation. He did his

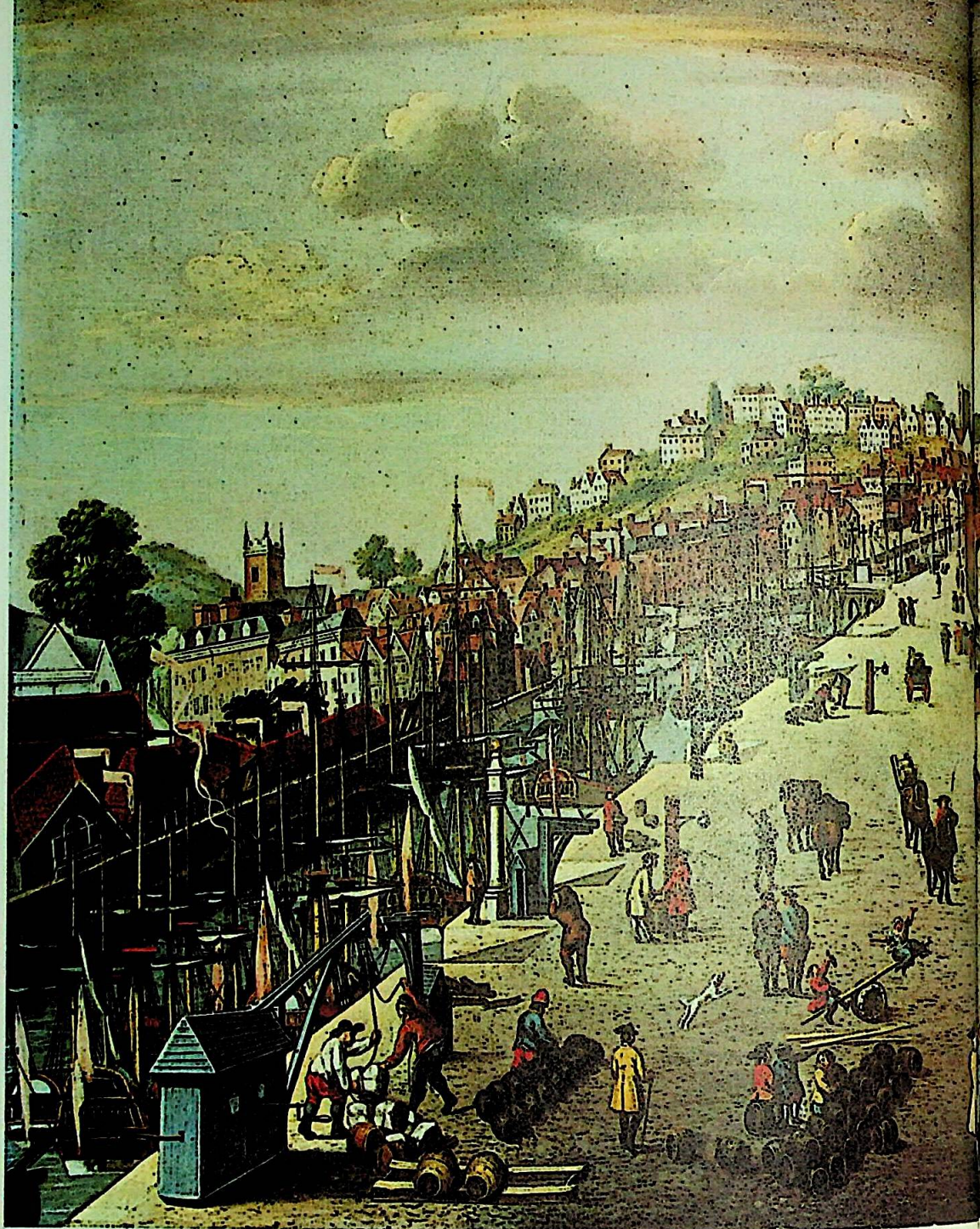
work well. By December of 1720 Parliament had accepted his schemes for reform and Walpole's prestige rose immensely. Then, at the same juncture, his rivals miraculously disappeared. Stanhope dropped dead during a debate in the House of Lords, and Sunderland, too, died shortly afterwards. Walpole and Townshend emerged supreme. The result was to be forty years of remarkably stable government.

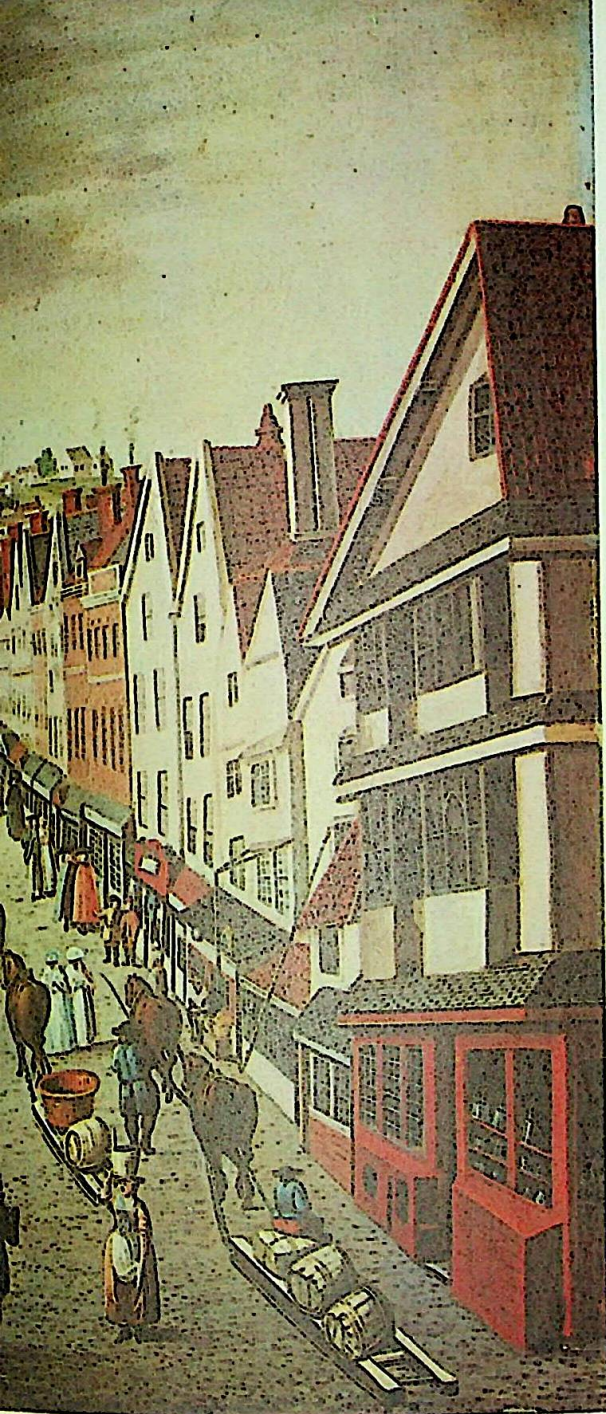
Walpole and the supremacy of the Whigs

Robert Walpole was a man of great ability and a remarkable judge of character. He was also very greedy. Yet the greed of the new 'prime minister' (as Walpole was coming to be called)—especially his greed for power—would ultimately be to the nation's benefit. For Walpole wished to exercise his power in the directions in which he was most talented—those of finance and of

building commercial prosperity. Fortunately, there was possibly no period in Britain's history when such talents could bring greater national rewards.

It has been said that Sir Robert could never brook a rival and surrounded himself with mediocrities. This assertion is only half true. Certainly, he eliminated his rivals. Together, Walpole and Townshend managed to outmanoeuvre Lord Carteret, the last and most brilliant leader of Stanhope's faction, and edge him out of the government. But even Townshend, Walpole's brother-in-law and confederate, was deemed too much of a threat, and was forced to resign in 1730. On the other hand, Walpole's 'friends'—Harrington, Hardwicke and especially the brothers Pelham, Henry and Thomas, Duke of Newcastle—were scarcely nonentities. Rather they were formidable men, but with limited capacity for leadership. Therefore they could greatly assist Walpole, but were unable to challenge his





own position until he was greatly past his prime.

Nevertheless, although Walpole swiftly emasculated his rivals, a strong opposition of Tories and discontented Whigs always dogged his footsteps. To these were eventually added the formidable talents of Bolingbroke, who had finally forsaken his Jacobitism and returned to England. Yet, for all of this, Walpole was able to keep his position intact for nearly twenty years. Not only did he usually have a parliamentary majority in his pocket but he also had the support of the monarchs. George I came to rely upon him; so did George II, while the latter's wife, Queen Caroline, proved the staunchest of all his adherents.

Walpole also played Parliament and Crown off against each other. The usually sound majority for Walpole in Parliament was really the creation of the Duke of Newcastle. Newcastle was a dithering, eccentric, and neurotic man, who lived in a state

of constant agitation, often bordering on panic. But he possessed shrewd common sense, and made political patronage into a fine art. He was the man who knew everybody in all of the constituencies, understood where money was to be applied in order to win elections, and forced every civil servant in however minor a position to support the government with his votes and influence—or forfeit his job. Even so, Walpole's hold on Parliament sometimes failed and on these occasions he was quite willing to use against it the considerable powers of the Crown—powers which George II did not have the skill to use in his own right.

Thus was set the pattern of politics for a long time to come. A Whig government, consistently but impotently opposed by the Tories, but occasionally in danger from other Whig factions which rose and fell around outstanding personalities and orators. Of course, Parliament was the old unreformed Parliament in which the House of Commons suffered from a proliferation of 'pocket boroughs' where the electorate was controlled by some landed magnate, and of 'rotten boroughs' which returned members although the constituencies contained no real electorate. It represented the lower classes hardly at all, and even the upper classes most unevenly. Nor did representation even remotely relate to distribution of population. Yet, despite its peculiar nature, the British legislature was far more responsive to the wishes of the nation as a whole than that of any other European country. When Britain fell on more evil days in the reign of George III, a demand arose to reform its basic institutions: but in the mid-eighteenth century Parliament's prestige was high, perhaps the highest it has ever been.

Under Walpole, the system certainly managed to work to the nation's benefit. Striving to maintain peace abroad, in domestic affairs he reformed the taxation system, cut the National Debt and increased commercial prosperity. He certainly suffered some defeats, notably his failure to impose an excise tax in 1733, but on the whole his long ministry succeeded in transforming the national outlook. By the time he retired, the political realities of the not

The income from colonial commerce provided much of the wealth that financed the Industrial Revolution.

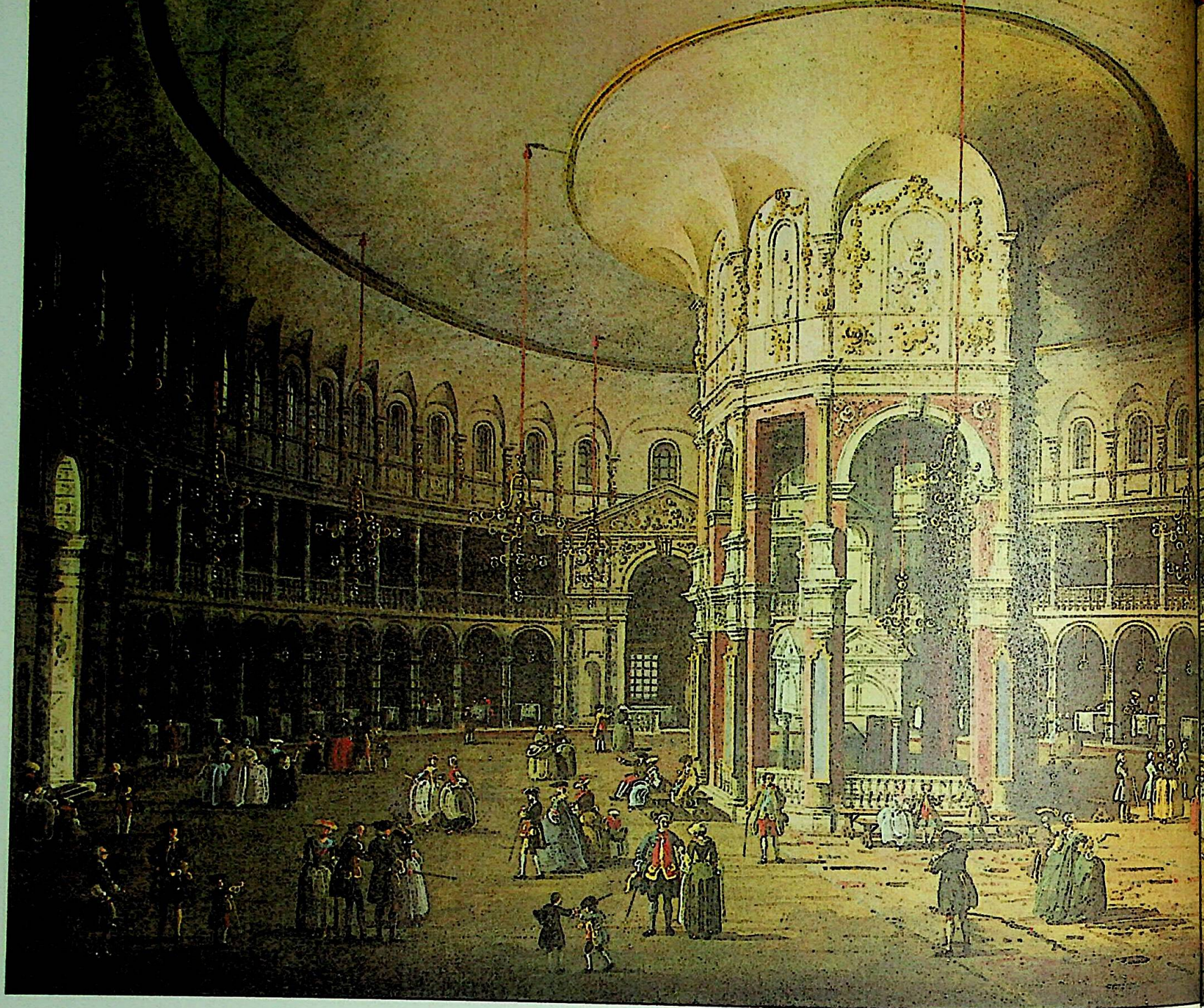
Left: the docks at Bristol, a seaport which grew rapidly from the slave trade and from the trade with the West Indies. (City Art Gallery, Bristol.)

Below: the old East India Docks, crowded with shipping from the Orient. (Victoria and Albert Museum, London.)



so distant past—religious controversies, battle to the death between Whigs and Tories, the putting up and the casting down of kings, the possibility of great civil wars—seemed like memories of a bygone age. Perhaps the greatest tribute to his ministry occurred in the year of his death, when Charles Edward Stuart, the 'Young Pretender' landed in Scotland with the hope of capturing the throne for his father. Backward Scottish Highlanders would rally in numbers to the romantic banners of Bonnie Prince Charlie; the English would have none of him—to them he represented danger and the return of pointless strife.

After 1733 it became increasingly clear that Walpole's power was declining. With growing age, he began to lose his grip and at the same time his enemies were waxing stronger. Eventually, even Walpole's friends were beginning to have their doubts. The crisis came in 1739 with the outbreak of the



War of Jenkins' Ear against Spain. Walpole wished to avoid it, but the nation's mood was strongly bellicose and he was pushed aside.

Sir Robert's departure was followed by some turmoil. The brilliant Carteret succeeded him, but the miseries and failures of the war increased and Carteret, too, was turned out of office.

Yet no sooner had Carteret been removed than the nation had to reckon with rebellion and invasion. In 1745 Bonnie Prince Charlie landed in Scotland; the Highlands rallied to him and he had soon captured Edinburgh. But the 'Forty-five' was a forlorn hope without English support and this was not forthcoming. The invasion of England failed and King George's son, the Duke of Cumberland, slaughtered the Scottish army in the Battle of Culloden. The Highlands were ruthlessly scourged and subdued, and Charles Edward fled the country never to return again.

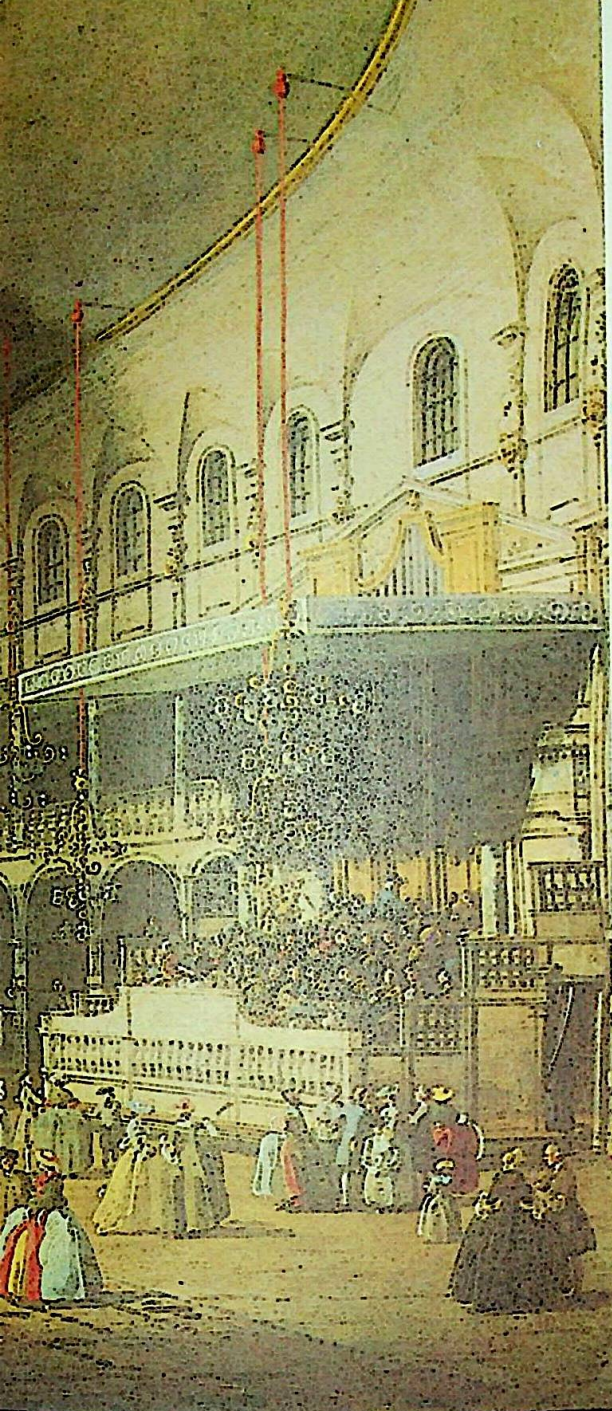
Meanwhile, Walpole's friends were re-

establishing their power, and Henry Pelham, a sort of diminutive Walpole, now stepped firmly into the shoes of his great predecessor. It was natural that the Pelhams should wish to carry on Walpole's system, but one might wonder why the nation would want such uninspired leadership. Walpole's government without Walpole somewhat resembled an orchestra without a conductor. Yet somehow the brilliant alternatives to him in the House of Commons seemed dangerous. The orchestra, therefore, was willing to try and continue on under the leader, so to speak, and Henry Pelham provided a sound, if dull, administration until his death in 1754, and then Newcastle himself carried on. However, colonial conflicts were already beginning to drag the country into yet another war. And when that, too, began to go badly, the foundations of the old system began to shake. It was then that the king called William Pitt to take command.

Methodism: the Augustan Age

John Wesley, was born in 1703, the son of a Church of England clergyman. Oppressed by a deep sense of sin, he entered the Church himself, but found little solace there until 1738 when he underwent a deep mystical experience. From this he emerged preaching the necessity of every individual attaining a personal and highly emotional relationship with Jesus Christ, his Saviour. Wesley never intended to break from the Established Church, but hoped to transform it. The Church, however, resisted him bitterly, and connections were finally severed in 1784.

In the intervening years, Wesley had uncovered a dark facet of English life which had remained unremarked. Following its victory over the Puritans, the Church of England had more and more lost contact with the lower classes of the nation. The souls of the ordinary people were truly a house swept and garnished and now dominated by a massive purposelessness which so

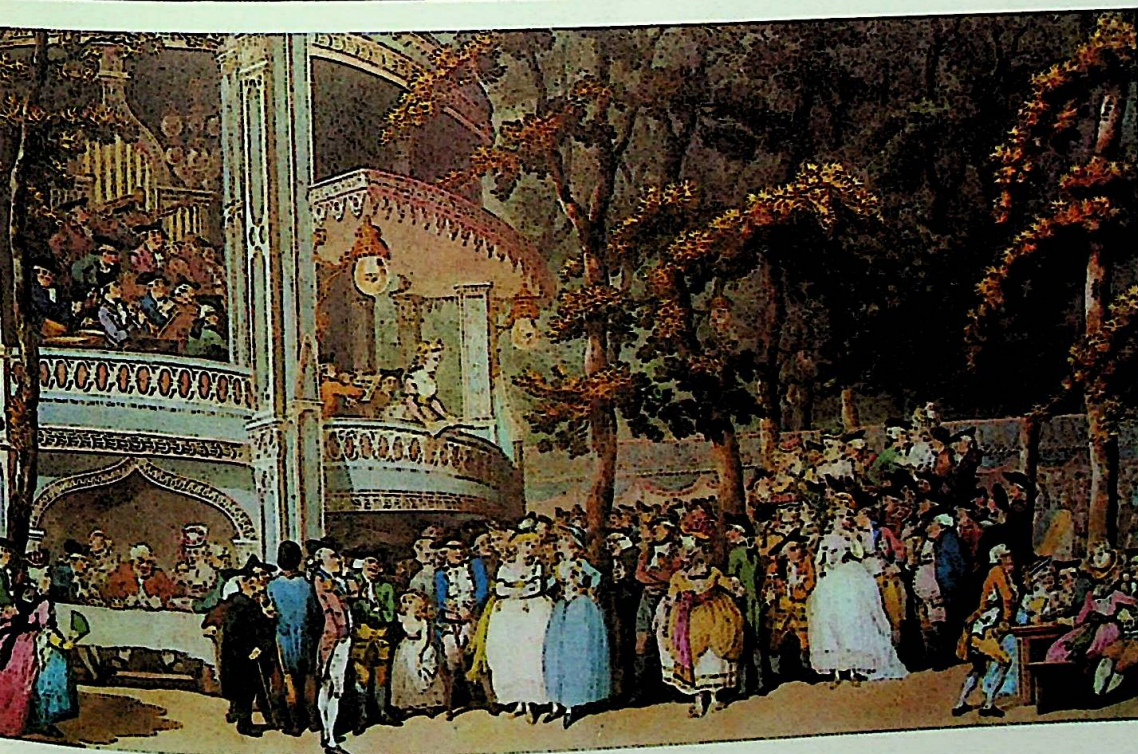


Musical evenings in eighteenth-century England.

Left: the rotunda of Ranelagh, where an orchestra is giving a concert. (National Gallery, London.)

Below: a small and sedate concert in the home of a member of the provincial gentry. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.)

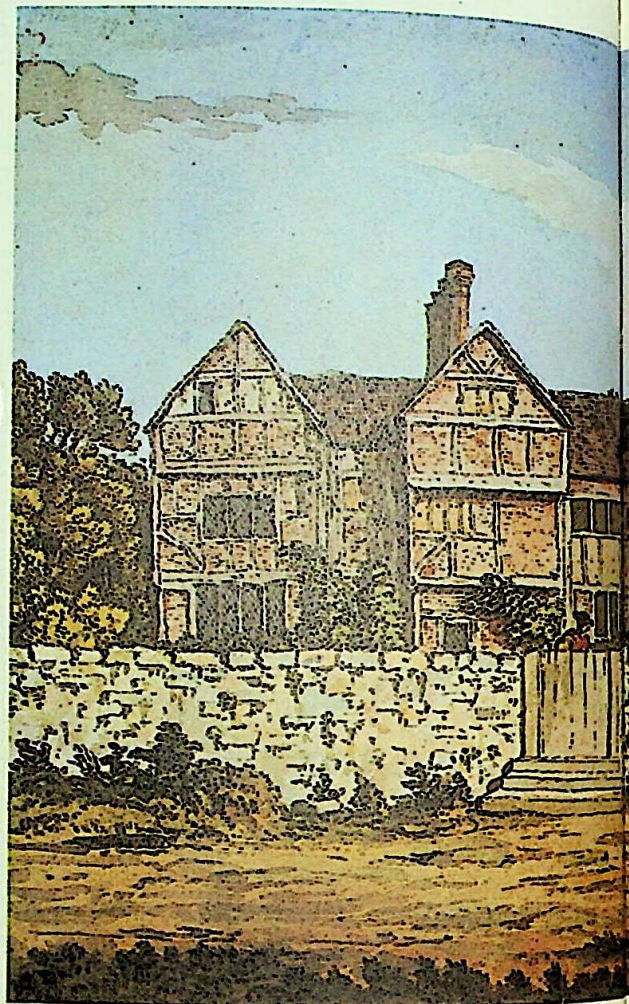
Bottom: outdoor entertainment in Vauxhall Gardens. (British Museum, London.)



often found its outlet in gambling, cheap gin and in the more brutal sports of the day, such as cock-fighting and bear-baiting.

Preaching a violent mixture of damnation and salvation, the Wesleyan movement swept through England and indeed on to America. The Methodists were drawn from the poor but were extremely well organised, and in fact Wesley had without knowing it constructed a machine of great revolutionary potential. But it was not to be used for revolutionary purposes: Wesley had no wish to overthrow existing institutions. Nevertheless by the time he died Wesley and his God had enabled hundreds of thousands of people to find a vital core of meaning to their existence which had been lacking hitherto.

Wesleyan Methodism was but one of the illustrations of the growth and ferment in the society that lay behind the stately facade of Georgian politics. From about 5,500,000 at the beginning of the century, the population of the country had risen to about



Scenes from a rural England that was beginning to give way to industrialism. Far left: an agricultural labourer. Below: a country convent. Bottom: a farmers wife drying out a fleece before the fire after washing.



9,000,000 at the end. Throughout the century the majority of the people remained rural, but London, the largest city in Europe, doubled its population to over a million in the same period. Similarly, the seaport towns of Bristol and Liverpool began their remarkable rise in size and prosperity with the growth of colonial commerce, especially the slave trade. Moreover, the face of the land was changing and more people were being driven to the towns. New ideas about agriculture and stock raising led to much larger farms; commons and waste lands were enclosed and many small farmers were forced to become agricultural labourers or to seek different work in the towns.

There was also much influx and change on the intellectual scene. Sir Isaac Newton, the nation's greatest scientist, died in 1727, after profoundly changing the whole of man's picture of the universe. Locke, Hume, Gibbon and Adam Smith extended the fields of philosophy, history and political economy. The fine arts boasted a galaxy of great names from Reynolds to Hogarth. Literature enjoyed a splendid age, and the century that opened with the acerbic satire of Swift and Pope closed as Jane Austen was beginning to write.

Behind all of this lay the rising wealth of the commercial revolution which preceded the industrial one. Commerce in eighteenth-century England laboured under many hindrances, but from Walpole onwards England was blessed by a series of governments that put the increase of the nation's wealth before everything else. This dominance of the profit motive affected everything—commerce itself, agriculture, industry and also the institution of war.

Throughout the first half of the century agriculture and industry were moderately prosperous. They would become more so once it was demonstrated how more money could be made from them. For the moment, however, the best investment was trade and commerce, and it was there that the national energies were directed. Britain's trade became increasingly colonial. The mercantile system had apparently paid off; the East India Company, the great consumer market in America, the African slave trade, above all, the sugar, rum and molasses trade of the West Indies—these all filled the nation's coffers.

Commerce also greatly affected British warfare. In an old Scottish folk song the English commander, Sir John Cope, challenged Bonnie Prince Charlie to battle with the words: 'I'll larn you the arts o' war'.

On this occasion, Sir John was swiftly defeated. Nevertheless, despite this and dozens of other exceptions, Britain had a great deal to teach the Continental dynasts (of whom Charles Edward Stuart was a representative) about methods of waging war in the mercantile age. Of course the country was helped by its insular position, which meant that more concentration could be placed on the navy than on the army. Armies were expensive, and their officers often incompetent. The navy was also expensive—but its value in relation to the greatest single producer of wealth that Britain had—the merchant marine—was indisputable. Britain could let other nations fight on the continent, while her navy swept the commerce of her enemies from the sea and gobbled up their colonies. Of course, all this required qualities of leadership in which British governments were often sadly lacking. But when good management was available, as when the elder Pitt was directing affairs, half the world could be brought within Britain's grasp.

Pitt and George III

The political upheaval which marked the end of the long era of Walpole-Pelham domination, is associated with the names of two men—William Pitt the Elder and George III. These two had much in common: both were naively idealistic, both hated parties and party politics; Pitt was mentally ill, and the king's later days saw his mental faculties gravely impaired.

Pitt, the member of a family which had made its fortune in the East India trade, naturally thought in commercial and colonial terms. He saw clearly that it was by concentrating on these spheres that the country might triumph in its great conflict with France. But he was too brilliant, too aloof, too erratic; indeed, any man who could say 'I know that I can save the country and that I alone can' must have been either a genius or a madman, and there was undoubtedly something of both in this remarkable man. It was only the disasters at the beginning of the Seven Years War that resulted in his call to high office. But when Pitt was lucid he saw much farther than most people. A war-winning combination was quickly worked out—Newcastle kept matters quiet at home, while Pitt directed the conflict abroad. Soon the church bells of London were ringing for victory with a happy frequency.

In 1760, however, George II died, and



This 'massacre of the Pelhamite innocents' destroyed Newcastle's power, but it did not help the king much. Bute soon found that he lacked the resolution to remain prime minister; Fox did not have the ambition and the king was left alone. Nor could he get Pitt and Newcastle back again—they were estranged from one an-

Wilkes, Lord North and confusion

It was in 1770, with the emergence of Lord North as prime minister, that the country once again saw strong and stable government. Moreover, George III had at last learned, as neither of his predecessors had, how a king could still play a predominant role in British politics by building up his own party in Parliament. For much of Lord North's support came not from the old Whig factions, but from a new group, the 'King's friends', who were willing to vote for the ministry that the king himself supported. But such halcyon days for king and Parliament were not destined to last for long.

The Wilkes débâcle was soon followed by the wars of the American Revolution, during which the ineptitude of government by the king and Lord North became increasingly evident. There were many triumphs and defeats for the ministry along



this long road, but by 1783 the country was in desperate straits, fighting not only its own colonists but also France, Spain and Holland as well, and it had temporarily lost the vital command of the seas. In that year, the king's system collapsed, the Treasury benches were stormed, Lord North was driven from power and replaced as prime minister by the Marquis of Rockingham, an old associate of the now deceased Duke of Newcastle.

For the moment, however, it did not seem as though any national regeneration had taken place. Although some good work was done, notably Edmund Burke's reform of the Civil Service, a period of ministerial instability returned which culminated in the assumption of power by the cynical political coalition formed by Lord North and his arch-rival, Charles James Fox.

George III was by now quite distracted. Where could he find an honest man? The one he finally produced was the second William Pitt, the younger son of the former great minister. The king had chosen well. Only twenty-four years of age, Pitt, with one brief interruption, would rule the country until his death. At first he was in a minority in Parliament, but in 1784 he won a great election victory. Pitt then set to work quickly, but many of his more important measures were forced into abeyance by the next great storm that broke over the country. In 1789, the French Revolution began. This not only profoundly altered politics within Britain itself, but meant that once more the country would have to enter into another long struggle for survival. When the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars finally ended, so had the world of the eighteenth century. The age of Walpole, the Pelhams, the Pitts and the Foxes had dissolved, and the era of Grey and Peel, of Gladstone and Disraeli, was about to begin.

The New Jerusalem

The closing years of this period saw the commencement of the most important changes ever to take place in Britain and perhaps in any other country. The colonial-commercial revolution of the early part of the century was followed, after 1760, by the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Why this happened is a very complex



The pen can be mightier than the sword. Extreme left: Jonathan Swift and (above) Alexander Pope, whose satire cut deeply in the early years of the century. Though better remembered for Gulliver's Travels, Swift was also a Tory propagandist who used his wit to discredit the achievements of the Duke of Marlborough. (National Portrait Gallery, London.)

Above left: 'Johnny! I hardly knew you.' The mutilated veteran returning home will have to spend the rest of his life begging unless he learns a trade. (British Museum, London.)

Left: William Pitt the Younger, enemy of slave-traders and of Napoleon, who became prime minister at the age of twenty-five. (National Portrait Gallery, London.)



Left: George III, whose reign stretched from the Seven Years War to the Napoleonic Wars. Mentally ill in later life, he was also naively idealistic, and it was from the latter point of view that he attempted to interfere in politics. (National Portrait Gallery, London.)
Right: a splendid carriage brings the infant Louis XV to a lit de justice before the Paris parlement during the raffish days of the Regency. (Musée Carnavalet, Paris.)

question, and there were many contributory factors, such as the abundance of coal and the cheapness of water transportation within Britain itself. Basically it was a question of wealth: of having the wealth and of knowing how to use it. Above all, British business men saw industrial production as a better way of making money than such things as floating loans to governments or purchasing offices. Moreover, the British government would support them whole-heartedly in this, and, unlike those of other nations, the upper classes did

not despise investment in commerce and industry. For a hundred years the country had accumulated wealth through commerce, and commerce pointed in directions where more wealth could be made. For instance, if you were shipping Indian-made textiles from Britain for sale in Africa or the West Indies, it did not take much sense to understand that it would be a great saving to ship them directly from England and that immense profits might be made by any Englishman who could devise means of manufacturing textiles as cheaply and as efficiently

as the Indians. Small wonder, therefore, that the capital was found to back the series of inventions that revolutionised the British textile industry in the eighteenth century. And, of course, once the Industrial Revolution began to gather momentum invention begat invention. Soon Britain was well on the road to the new world of vastly increased industrial production and material prosperity as well as that of sweated workshops and child labour. In 1789, these unfamiliar and undreamed of horrors and benefits lay just beyond the horizon.



The reign of Louis XV

After the Sun King; the Regency; financial ills and attempts at cures; Madame de Pompadour; French elegance and royal decay; great wealth—and grinding poverty; the suppression of the Jesuits; the Parlements—the last hope of the Old Regime; the derided corpse.

'I am leaving you, but the state will always remain.' So spoke Louis XIV, the grand monarch, on his death-bed. But would it? Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin and King Louis himself had certainly created the most formidable nation in Europe. The terrible divisive elements of former centuries had been dissolved; the religious wars had ended, the power of the great nobles had been broken, and the aristocracy as a whole reduced to impotence. Yet much of the

substance of the newly great nation had been wasted on Louis' own wars and in the expulsion of the Huguenots. Despite the administrative centralisation, a sound financial structure had not been achieved and the taxes were still concentrated on the poorer parts of the community. Nevertheless, there was still much to be optimistic about in 1715. The disastrous War of the Spanish Succession had not ended nearly as badly as might have been expected. The confused

aims of the allies, a last victory by Marshal Villars, a skilful negotiation of the peace treaty had kept losses to a minimum at the treaties of Utrecht. France had been weakened, but was undoubtedly still the most populous and the greatest power in Europe. The most urgent problem was that of the succession. The quality of absolute monarchies necessarily depends on the character of the monarch. The new king was a child of five.



Regency and *Polysynodie*

The extreme youth of Louis XV required a regency, and by custom the regent would be the man next in succession to the throne. This meant that power would fall into the hands of Philip, the Duke of Orléans, a man of many accomplishments and of good political sense. But Philip was also a person whose private life was marked by impiety and a total disregard of the obligations of his high rank; he lived in the midst of a vast bevy of loose women and degenerates who staggered through an endless series of orgies and gargantuan drinking bouts in the fashionable underworld of Paris.

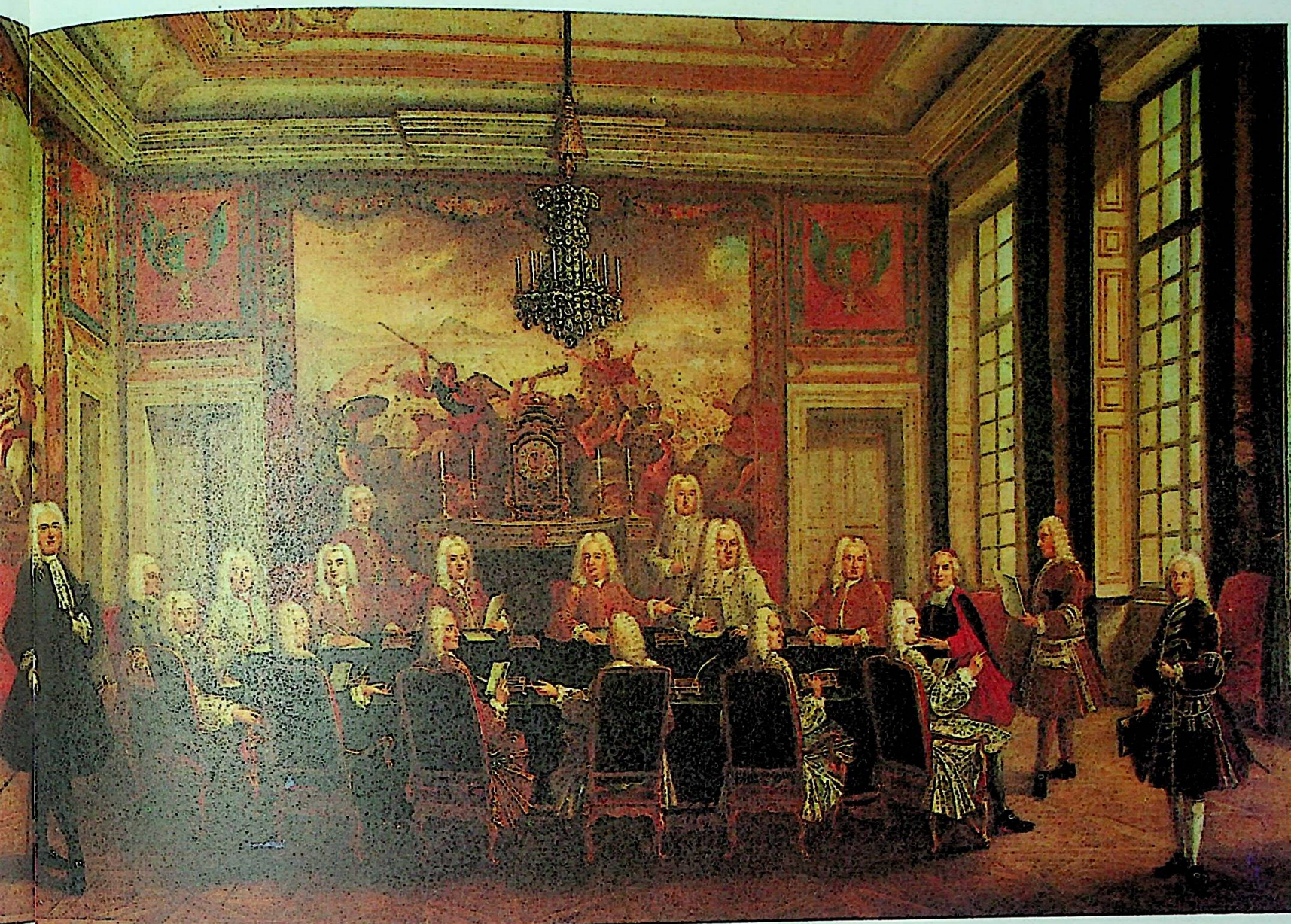
The old king had cordially detested Philip, and in his will had attempted to reduce the regent to a cipher. Real power was to reside in a council made up of the royal bastards—Louis' sons by the Marquise de Montespan. But the nobility, long wearied of monarchical absolutism, looked to Philip as their champion and helped him to free himself from the dead hand of

Louis XIV. All turned to the *parlements* as the repository of the French constitution. The *parlements*, basically aristocratic law courts (and not to be confused with the English Parliament, the French equivalent of which was the Estates General), had kept their authority intact in theory under the grand monarch by not exercising it in practice, but they, too, now hoped that their hour had come. The dead king's will was duly and swiftly quashed.

Philip soon made other changes as well. The court was moved from Versailles to Paris, where the nobles would be more comfortable and the regent more free to indulge his tastes. Next came a major administrative reform. The nobility, who had placed Philip in real power, hoped he would dismantle the structure of royal absolutism. The regent's answer was the creation of the *Polysynodie*. Instead of the old system where all business was conducted by the king through his secretaries, a new organisation came into being consisting of six councils, staffed largely by nobles. But

the foundations of royal government, arduously created by Louis XIV, were not to be cracked so easily. After a generation in which they had been allowed to devote themselves only to war, the conduct of their own estates and the petty intrigues of Versailles, the nobles found themselves unfit for anything else. They were unable to govern, and consequently government nearly came to a halt. The *Polysynodie* was about as bad a failure as it could have been. It was abolished, un lamented, in 1718.

Yet somebody had to govern. It was clear that the regent, preoccupied as he was with sex, wine, and the nature of the universe, already had enough to do. But Philip did have a certain grasp of the problems of his country as well as a mind that was totally untrammelled by orthodox modes of thinking. When a young Scottish adventurer whom he had met in one of his nightly escapades announced that he could cure the ills of France, the regent paid attention.



Above left: Philip of Orléans, the very informal regent, pictured in a formal pose, pointing to the young Louis XV. Behind the king stands the rather ghostly figure of Marshal Villeroy.

Above right: Philip chairs a meeting of the Regency Council. (Musée de Versailles.)

The Scottish magician

In retrospect the career of John Law, emerging from a gambling den, briefly taking over the whole economy of France, then fleeing to Britain leaving ruin and disgrace behind him, seems like some monstrous sort of a confidence trick. Yet Law had real insight into some of the problems of the day. The main point, he realised, was that true national wealth depended on population and production. Money should not be an end in itself, but merely a means of exchange to promote trade. France, without adequate credit facilities, could be outrun by lesser states like Britain and Holland, which had better developed their smaller resources. His remedy was a royal bank, which would use the king's credit to print paper money, which in turn would be used to finance the exploitation and the development of all of the country's undoubted resources.

Philip, pleased with such radical ideas, gave Law encouragement, and in 1716 the Scot was authorised to establish a private

bank. This proved a great success, and a year later Law obtained control of the languishing Mississippi Company with its monopoly of the trade of Louisiana. This he reorganised into the Company of the West, and within two years Law's bank became a royal bank and his company had absorbed all of the other rather derelict colonial companies dealing with the trade of Senegal, the East Indies, Africa, and China. Orthodox financiers were aghast and opposed him, but Law was not to be brooked. When the Farmers General, who collected all the indirect taxes of the country, attacked him, Law outbid them and gained control of the raising of taxes himself. His rise continued with breathtaking speed. He took over the coinage of money, and then assumed the national debt, asking only 3 per cent interest. Finally, he received the office of comptroller general of finances, bringing the whole of the French economy under his direction.

Law then sketched out a programme of badly needed reform. Direct and indirect

Right: the young king surrounded by the very well-fed municipal magistrates of Paris. (Musée Carnavalet, Paris.)

Far right: a cartoon depicting the fall of John Law's financial empire. Some speculators find the paper money passes too quickly through their system; others leap from windows on the bursting of the 'Mississippi Bubble'. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Yet colonial commerce did bring in much wealth which was reflected in the growth of France's merchant marine and navy.

taxation was to be reorganised in a unified system. All sorts of unnecessary offices were to be abolished, capital was to be advanced to manufacturers, and a large programme of public works begun. Most important, a new tax was to be introduced that would be paid by all classes of the community and from which the nobles and the clergy were not to be exempt.

But the foundation of Law's prestige was a shaky one, and the speculative nature of the Company of the West—renamed the Company of the Indies in 1719—was to prove fatal to his programme for reform. Much of Law's success was owing to the fantastic boom of the company's shares. In fact the company had good potential, and given a generation or so of hard work, might have paid off handsomely. But Law's agents issued propaganda grossly misrepresenting Louisiana, which was pictured as a veritable land of gold. Share prices began to rise amazingly. By the middle of 1719, there were such wild scenes of buying in the Rue de Quincampoix in Paris that police had to clear the streets because of bloodshed, while the shares were inflated to forty times their face value. This could not continue, given the discrepancy between the share values and the immediate real potential of Louisiana. By 1720 a panic had begun. Law attempted to stem it by means of a controlled deflation but now his enemies showed themselves. The *parlement* of Paris refused to register the edict cutting the value of all notes in circulation by one-quarter. Law's empire of paper money collapsed completely, and he himself fled the country.

Law's schemes for financial reform disappeared with their projector, but the failure of the miracle worker did not mean the fall of the regent. France, even under its old system of financial mismanagement, could still manage to stagger on so long as there was peace. And this was provided by the skilful diplomacy of the Abbé du Bois, Philip's old tutor. But in 1723 the regent died; the raffish epic of society to which he had given his name perished with him, and a new era began.



Cardinal Fleury and the old regime

Philip of Orleans was succeeded as regent by the next prince of the blood, the ugly and stupid Duke of Bourbon. The latter's one action of note lay in the field of royal matrimony. It was decided that it would be for the best if the young Louis XV were to marry and produce an heir to the throne as soon as possible. Therefore, his present fiancée, the five-year-old Spanish infanta, was bundled back to her homeland to the fury of the Spanish court, and Louis was quickly married to Marie Leczinska, a daughter of the ex-king of Poland.

Bourbon shortly afterwards brought about his own downfall by attempting to remove a potential rival—André Fleury, Bishop of Fréjus, and tutor to the king. But this incident brought together Louis' two most pleasing characteristics—an eye for talent and loyalty to his friends. The sixteen-year-old king stood his ground, dis-

missed Bourbon, and made Fleury the virtual ruler of France. Not until nearly the end of his reign did the king again exert himself so decisively and to such good effect.

When Fleury, soon to become a cardinal, assumed the reins of government, few people other than the deposed Duke of Bourbon were upset or worried. After all, the new minister was a mild and inoffensive little man, and at the age of seventy-three did not seem destined to pursue the arduous labours of government for very long. In fact he soon showed himself to possess great reserves of energy, determination and political skill, and he went on ruling the country for the next thirteen years. Strongly conservative, Fleury was not temperamentally suited to undertake any of the revolutionary changes needed to revivify the ailing structure of government. But by practising honest administration at home, and by cultivating peace abroad, he could at least stop decline, and this he managed to accomplish.

In the first place, he built up a strong



team of assistants and gave them the security of tenure that was necessary for them to do their work well. D'Aguesseau was made chancellor and continued the vast work of legal codification. Maurepas built up the navy, and D'Angervilliers showed much industry in his long tenure as secretary of state for war from 1728 to 1740. Orry was an orthodox and efficient comptroller general from 1730 to 1746. Owing to this remarkable period of stability in the heads of departments, and to the abilities of the men themselves, Fleury's administration marked a period of peace and prosperity—the flowering of the old regime.

Given the precarious state of French finances, the *sine qua non* for the success of Fleury's policy was the keeping of peace. He was fortunate in that his long term of office coincided with the rule in England of the equally pacific Sir Robert Walpole. Towards the rest of Europe, he conducted a skilful diplomacy. Yet Fleury could not

always have his own way, even in France. Here, his main obstacle was the old aristocracy who still persisted in seeing their main reason for existence in getting killed or in cutting heroic figures in foreign wars. He was therefore always dogged by the war party, which in his ministry centred around Chauvelin, the keeper of the seals. Eventually the hopes of the queen's father regaining his throne allowed Chauvelin to lead the country into war in the dispute over the Polish succession in 1733.

Even then, Fleury managed to keep the campaign to a minimum, secure some diplomatic triumphs, and all the while give Chauvelin enough rope to hang himself. The latter was disgraced and dismissed in 1737. The nation had another breathing space, but it was not to last for long. The decline of Walpole changed the attitude of Britain, while the bellicose young nobles of France soon found a new, stronger leader in the Count of Bellisle. When Fleury died at the age of ninety in 1743, the

country had stumbled into the much more ruinous War of the Austrian Succession.

The arrival of La Pompadour

Cardinal Fleury was not to be replaced. Like Louis XIV on the death of Cardinal Mazarin, Louis XV determined to be his own prime minister once his old tutor had passed from the scene. Unlike Louis XIV, however, he did not have the qualifications for such a rôle. Louis was intelligent enough, but he had an almost pathological lack of faith in his own judgment. Consequently, he rarely exercised it. The result was that councils would meet, the secretaries of state and the heads of departments would argue their points of view, the king would listen to it all in silence, and then the meeting would break up and the ministers struggle on as best they could without any sort of co-ordination. In the circumstances, government lost all sense of direction.

Perhaps it was a bad conscience about

his own inability to govern that led Louis to indulge so remorselessly and so compulsively in his other two main pastimes—hunting and women. Year after year, vast numbers of slaughtered animals filled up the royal larder and a long procession of mistresses wandered in and out of the royal bedchambers. Most of the latter were quick and easy conquests, whose time in the royal favour might last only a few nights or weeks, but in 1744 a woman of different calibre appeared on the scene. Jeanne Antoinette Poisson was the daughter of a servant in one of the great French banking houses, and was married to the nephew of one of the farmers general. She understood the mysteries of high finance and of many other things as well. In September of 1745 she became Louis' recognised mistress and was given the title of Marquise de Pompadour. Then something curious happened. Louis and his new beloved failed as lovers, but became close friends. For a quarter of a century, first as actual, then as titular mistress, Pompadour ruled the glittering society of the court.

It is with Pompadour that the elegance of the period is associated. Herself an exquisite beauty, she wished to be surrounded with *objets d'art*, and taste became everything. Armies of craftsmen—jewellers, goldsmiths, bookmakers, makers of porcelain, furniture and tapestries laboured to meet the inexhaustible demand of the king's great mistress. Buildings were built and gorgeously decorated, musicians and artists patronised. It used to be thought that this was the extravagance that ruined French finances and hastened the Revolution. And it is true, of course, that the lavish French court which plumbed depths of inanity as often as it reached heights of elegance, can hardly have presented an edifying spectacle to starving French peasants. Nevertheless, the country was basically rich enough to have carried such expenditure, vast though it was, with relative ease. To discover the ills of France, it is necessary to look farther than the frivolous court.

The condition of old France: Doctor Machault

The story of France in the eighteenth century is by no means one of continuous decline. The population was certainly increasing. By mid-century it had reached about 22,000,000 and one European in every five was French. Wealth, too, especially commercial wealth, was on the upsurge. The wars of Louis XIV had proved destructive to overseas trade. But the period of peace after 1715 and Fleury's stabilisation of the currency in 1726 had made new beginnings possible. Successful French diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire brought a large upsurge of trade with the Levant. At the same time the traditional export of wine and brandy from Bordeaux to the rest of Europe

Right: tea 'à l'anglaise', at the home of the Prince of Conti. The musicians, however, were no ordinary group. Seated at the harpsichord is the infant Mozart. (Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

continued.

The most significant part of French commercial expansion, however, was her colonial trade. While the huge areas of Canada and Louisiana did not really amount to much economically, and while her trade in India showed but modest gains, France had discovered a fountain of wealth in the West Indies. Her sugar islands, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Saint Domingue and the trade in slaves attendant upon them, were soon employing over 500 ships a year, and causing great envy to the rival West Indian power of Britain. A rise in prosperity in such ports as Marseilles, Dunkirk, Le Havre and above all, Nantes, testified to the growing opulence of overseas commerce.

So wealth certainly came into France. But what was it used for? Much found its way into the hands of the great bankers and financiers like the Pâris brothers. These men, who also farmed the indirect taxes, found that their easiest profit came from loans to the king to finance wars and to meet deficits. They did not invest much in commerce, despite its potentiality.

The picture regarding industry and agriculture was even worse. For with the population increase pressing on the land, industrial and agricultural revolutions became a necessity. They did not take place. The fact that the Industrial Revolution began in Britain in the eighteenth century and not in France does not testify to the greater inventiveness of the British, but rather to the fact that the British were willing to capitalise the inventions. By 1789 there were some 20,000 spinning jennies in Britain and less than 1,000 in France. French industry did improve in the eighteenth century, but at a modest rate, held back by the regulations of guilds and by state control. Even worse was a system, of an almost incredible number, of hindrances on domestic trade caused by internal tolls, customs and excise dues. This system produced both armies of smugglers and armies of officials attempting to prevent smuggling. Yet all efforts to change it came up against a blank wall of vested interests, large and small.

But the most glaring abuse in old France was the system of taxation. Louis XIV had created a centralised state administratively, but left it to be financed by machinery that was positively mediaeval. The principal tax in France was the *taille*, a relic of feudal times that was placed on people who did not perform military service. The sum to be raised by it each year was annually determined by the Council of Finances. The



taille, and a few other direct taxes, were supplemented by an impossibly vast and complex system of indirect taxation, the proceeds of which were gathered by the farmers general. From the direct taxes the nobility were exempt and the clergy, immensely wealthy, were nearly so. With an income of between 100 and 200 million livres a year, the Church paid out a 'free gift' of 2 or 3 millions. Nor were the taxes levied or



gathered with much sense of equity. Many people, locally and nationally, could secure exemptions. It was always the poor and defenceless sections of the community that bore most of the burden.

Under such a system, the structure of French society was clearly in danger. Yet there was a surprising quiescence throughout the land. The peasantry, vast and inarticulate, caused surprisingly little trouble.

Even during the Revolution, it was moved only once to radical action. The middle classes were more powerful and hence more dangerous to the established order; but middle classes are not by nature prone to really violent revolution. The working class seemed too small to count. If the French government could have managed to stagger on without financial crises, the old regime would probably not have ended in the holo-

caust that it did. But for the government to make ends meet, the system of taxation had to be reformed or the involvement in wars had to be absolutely avoided. Astride both of these paths stood the aristocracy. The nobles were as eager as ever for warfare, but they would not give up their privileges, which included exemption from taxation. Thus, they marked out the path of their own destruction, but for them the road to hell



was not paved with good intentions.

During the days of Fleury's rule, the comptroller general of finances had been Orry. The latter's methods of extreme economy had succeeded in keeping things going, but the War of the Austrian Succession proved to be too great a strain and in December of 1745 Orry was dismissed. The man picked to replace him was Machault D'Arnouville, the former intendant of Valenciennes. The appearance of this icy but rigidly honest administrator in Louis' gay court again testifies to the king's good judgment of men. Working with great energy Machault somehow managed to finance the war—using every immediate expedient he could think of. But he was not content to rest on such laurels and as soon as peace returned he began digging towards the roots of all France's problems. In 1749 he produced his solution—the *Vingtème*, a tax of one-twentieth on all income without exception. Then, as Machault began to organise the new administrative personnel

necessary to collect it, the astonished forces of reaction began to prepare their resistance.

The *parlements* and the provincial estates at first refused to register the edict of taxation. However, the king compelled them to do so. Then the clergy took the lead in opposition. The campaign they waged was so powerful that at last the king began to waver. In his court, the *dévo*i Catholic party, including the king's own daughters, pushed the claims of the Church. Pompadour gave her support to Machault, but in the end the bishops triumphed. In December of 1751 Machault gave up, and all hope of financial reform was lost for the time being.

Jansenists and *parlements*

It was in the seventeen-forties that another problem began which caused much consternation throughout the country. It commenced as a religious struggle between the Jesuits and the Jansenists, and was transmuted into a political conflict between the



King, queen and mistresses.

Left: Louis XV looking extremely young for his twenty years.

Far left: Madame du Barry takes her morning cocoa.

Below left: Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de Pompadour, queen of all elegance.

Below: Louis's consort, Marie Leczinska, daughter of the ex-king of Poland. (Musée de Versailles.)



parlements and the king. By the mid-eighteenth century, Jansenism, as it had existed fifty years before, had more or less died out. But the name was still used to describe those who championed the Gallican rights of the Church in France, against papal authority in Rome. Opposed to these were the Jesuits and the *dévot* party in the court, which included the queen. It was in 1713 that the pope had issued the famous bull, *Unigenitus*, condemning supposed Jansenist propositions. But it was not until 1746 that the new Archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont, took the extreme step of threatening excommunication against those who refused to accept the bull, and began forbidding the last rites to those who had not obtained a ticket of their acceptance from a priest. At this point the *parlements* objected. The French *parlements* were law courts which also had wide police powers over various matters such as religion, trade and industry, and morals. The most important of them was the *parlement* of Paris with a jurisdiction stretching over one-third of the country. Membership in all the French *parlements* was less than 2,000. Originally recruited from middle-class lawyers, heredity and money had since become the requirements of office. By the eighteenth century, the *parlements* were a stronghold of aristocratic reaction. In fact they were more reactionary than the king himself, and wished only to replace his power with their own, but the people were not fond of the Jesuits nor of the *dévot* party, and by emerging as the protectors of Gallicanism the *parlements* could hope to gain much popular support.

When the Archbishop of Paris took his position on the bull, *Unigenitus*, the Paris *parlement* threatened to imprison priests who refused to allow confession or to give the last rites. In 1753, when sacraments were denied to a seventy-eight year old nun, the *parlement* even threatened to bring the archbishop to trial. At this point

the king intervened. In the court, Pompadour had been supporting the Jansenists, but Louis was more influenced by the bishops and by the *dévot* party.

The king now ordered the Paris *parlement* to cease its attack on the archbishop. Instead the *parlement* replied by drawing up the *grandes remontrances* of 9 April 1753. Remonstrances were a traditional right that the *parlements* had, but they usually delivered them to the king in private. In this case, they were printed and soon sold 20,000 copies. Now the *parlements* were claiming not only to be the protectors of the Gallicans and the Jansenists, but were also debating the king's absolute power, sometimes using the arguments of Montesquieu and Locke; it was claimed that the king was a constitutional monarch bound by the fundamental laws of the realm of which the *parlements* were the guardians. Soon, placards were appearing reading 'Long live the *parlement*! Death to the king and the bishops.'

The king was not certain of what to do and, bedevilled by divided counsels, he pursued a wavering course. In May of 1753, he exiled the members of the Paris *parlement* to other parts of the country. A year later, he was forced to bring them back, after no one would do business in the temporary royal court. They returned to bonfires and celebrations, and public opinion was greatly aroused. The struggle continued, in a tortuous way, over the next few years, but a truce occurred in 1757 when an attempt on the king's life briefly induced moderation on both sides.

The prestige of the king, which had suffered from his battle with the *parlements*, was soon to sink still lower. In the Seven Years War, a long series of defeats, inflicted by the British and the Prussians, brought the repute of the government to its lowest ebb. The country needed some sort of a saviour and Madame de Pompadour felt she could produce one. In 1758 a friend of hers,

then at the embassy in Vienna, was hastily recalled, made Duke of Choiseul and created secretary of state for foreign affairs.

The indefatigable yet light-hearted Choiseul was perhaps not as great a man as he appeared at the time, but nevertheless he quickly set to work, re-establishing some measure of royal authority and of the country's prestige. Little could be salvaged from the war, but at the Peace of Paris, Choiseul did as well as could be expected. French losses were grievous, but not as bad as they might have been.

If he could not save one war, Choiseul could at least prepare for victory in the future. His foreign policy was sound, shoring up the Austrian alliance and creating the Family Compact with Spain. He then began to overhaul the army, buying out and retiring many officers and placing recruitment and equipment in the hands of civil servants. The artillery was integrated within the army as a whole; the better military schools were begun. More important, he rebuilt the French navy. The number of capital ships was doubled, and naval administration as a whole was overhauled. His term of office also saw two important accessions to French territory in Europe. In 1768, Choiseul purchased Corsica from the Republic of Genoa, suppressing the nationalist rebellion of Paoli. Two years before, Lorraine had become incorporated within France as the result of the death of Stanislaus Lesczinski, although this was really a long-term result of Fleury's foreign policy.

Although Choiseul thus strengthened the military sinews of the nation as a whole, he did not take action at home to bolster the king's authority over the *parlements*. On the contrary, he believed in the necessity of coming to terms with them and gained much of his freedom of action from his cordial relations with the Paris *parlement*. And it was during his term of office that the *parlements* finally gained their victory over their most hated enemy—the Jesuits. In Martinique, a large commercial enterprise built up by a Jesuit priest went bankrupt and the creditors obtained judgment against the Society as a whole. With truly heroic folly, the Jesuits appealed to the *parlement* of Paris. That body immediately and gleefully proclaimed the Society responsible for all the debts incurred, and then set up a commission to examine and report on the Jesuit Order as a whole. As a result, the *parlement* declared against them as strongly as possible, and it was decreed in 1762 that the Society of Jesus should be suppressed.

Louis XV, inspired by the *dévots*, attempted half-heartedly to protect the Jesuits. But in the midst of the defeats of the Seven Years War, he simply did not feel strong enough to challenge the *parlements*. In the end, he consented to a royal edict which abolished the Society and confiscated all its property.

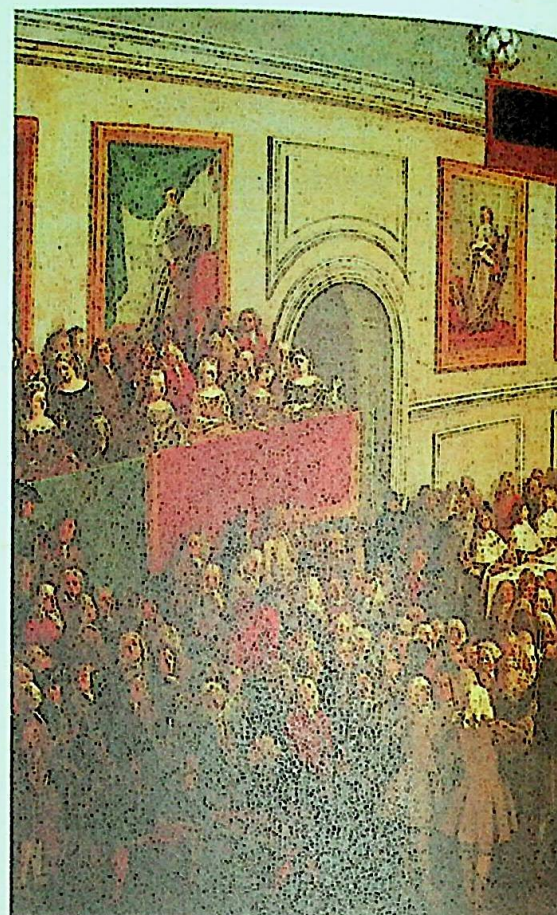
The *parlements* and the king

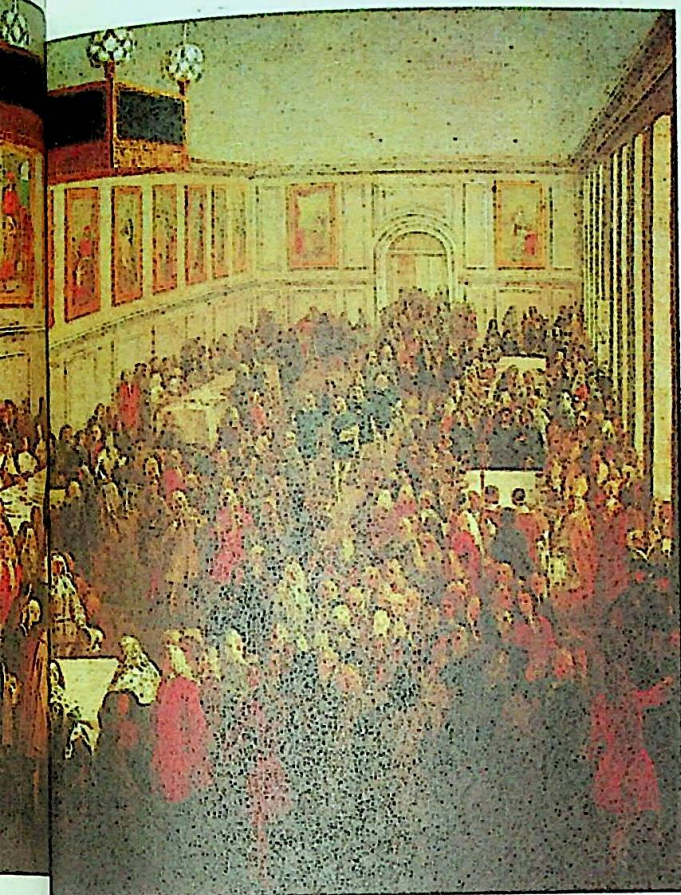
With the suppression of the Jesuits, the overweening pride of the *parlements* was becoming boundless. They persisted in their obstruction of all types of financial reform. Following its victory over Machault, the Paris *parlement* waged war against successive comptrollers general, while the provincial *parlements* followed its example in respect to the royal intendants. By 1763, they had managed to get one of their own members appointed as comptroller general, and all further hope of financial reforms seemed permanently lost.

Then events in Brittany took them one step further. There a controversy over who had the right to build provincial roads grew out of all proportion, and resulted in the arrest of the leader of the Rennes *parlement* by the royal governor. For the first time, all of the other *parlements* in the country now joined together in the support of Rennes and in denunciation of an act carried out with royal authority. Soon their statements were close to denying the sovereignty of the king. But then, with unexpected determination, Louis bestirred himself and suspended the *parlement* of Rennes. In 1766, in a *lit de justice* the king appeared before the Paris *parlement*, ordered it not to concern itself with the fate of its sister at Rennes, and declared: 'I am answerable to no one. In my person alone resides the sovereign's power; from me alone my courts take their existence and authority.' Even Louis XV had at last been stung to action.

Given that Louis was at last contemplating action against the *parlements*, the position of their ally, the Duke of Choiseul was necessarily weakened. The loss of his protector, Madame de Pompadour, who died in 1764 at the age of forty, does not seem to have hurt his standing, but his violent dislike of her successor, the ravishing beauty, Madame du Barry, did. Then, in 1768, Maupeou, a man known to be hostile to the powers of the *parlements*, was made chancellor. The following year, Maupeou's friend, the Abbé Terray became comptroller general. In 1770 Choiseul clashed with the new comptroller and lost. Louis supported Terray, and Choiseul was dismissed and stripped of all his offices.

Power now passed into the hands of Maupeou, Terray and the new secretary for foreign affairs, d'Aiguillon, who became known as the triumvirate. Maupeou quickly set to work against what he clearly saw was his greatest adversary, and cleverly managed to provoke the *parlement* of Paris into an open rejection of the king's authority. On Maupeou's advice, the king acted. The magistrates of the *parlement* were exiled to remote counties. Their privileges and their offices were abolished without compensation. The huge territory under the jurisdiction of the Paris *parlement*





was broken up into six areas, each of which was given a new royal court.

With one swift stroke it appeared that the king and Maupeou had struck off the head of the enemy. His part in the action made the chancellor decidedly unpopular, but then an ugly, bad-tempered little man like Maupeou would hardly have expected to be loved anyway. Following his victory, he then proposed a fundamental reform of the whole judicial system of France.

The downfall of the *parlements* at last opened the way for Terray to begin the much-needed financial reforms. Machault's old edict of 1749 establishing the *vingtième* was put into operation. At the same time, Terray ironed out many of the inequalities of the taxation system, and came to a new arrangement with the farmers general which increased the yield of indirect taxes. New forces were clearly at work that in a few years might have ended many of the anomalies of the old regime. Such was not to be. In April of 1774 Louis XV contracted smallpox. A month later he was dead.



Aristocratic opulence, formal and colourful. Above left: a feast given at Reims on the occasion of Louis XV's coronation. (Musée de Versailles.)

Left: a lit de justice in the Paris parlement. This procedure, which required the king's personal appearance, was his ultimate control over such powerful courts. (Musée du Louvre, Paris.)

Above: Cardinal Fleury, the king's tutor and eventual prime minister. He provided thirteen years of stable government until his death at the age of ninety. (Musée de Versailles.)

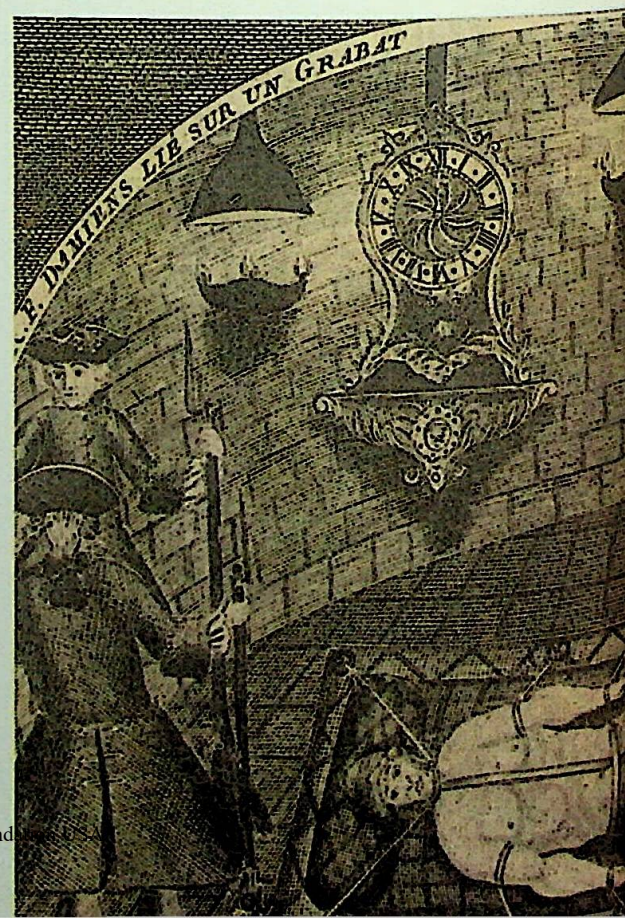


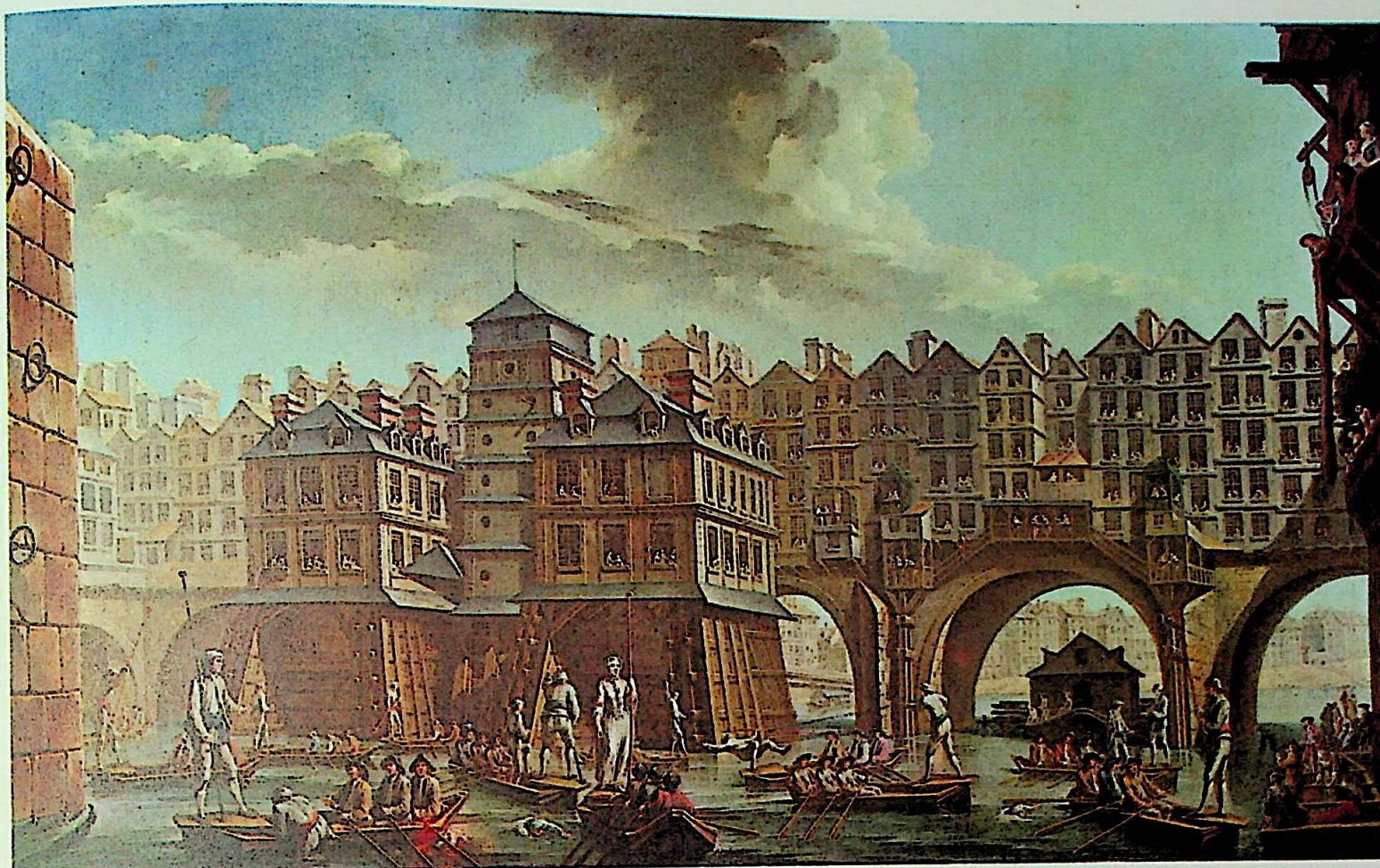


The end of the reign

The death of Louis XV did not end all attempts at reform. Yet under his successor, a better man but a weaker king, the aristocracy and the *parlements* were able to fight back, regain their position, and once again, flout all further attempts at progress. Choiseul's efforts gave France a chance for victory in the next war with Great Britain, but in winning it the French monarchy lost everything. Once again the royal finances were overwhelmed and this time there was no remedy but to summon the Estates General, a ghost that had not been seen since 1614. In doing so, the king and aristocracy raised a spectre that eventually destroyed them all.

When the corpse of Louis XV was taken to St Denis for burial there were few signs of mourning. No mass had been said in Paris for his recovery. At the funeral, contemptuous shouts deriding the dead king's main interests were heard: '*Voilà, the pleasure of women*' and '*Tai aut! Tai aut!*'—the French equivalent of 'tally-ho!'—were the cries. From the point of view of the ordinary people, this was not unfair. Louis had done little enough for them. But the nobility who also rejoiced should have mourned him. Had he lived, the seedy old king might have just managed to break their power—and saved them in spite of themselves.





Above left: the Duke of Choiseul. Called to power by the defeats of the Seven Years' War, he began preparing for the revenge France would ultimately reap in the American Revolution. (Musée de la Marine, Paris.)

Above: spectacle on the river. The birth of the Duke of Burgundy is celebrated by a joust of boatmen.

Left: crime and punishment. The would-be assassin, Damiens, is horribly tortured after slightly wounding Louis XV with a pen-knife. He was executed with revolting cruelty. (Musée Carnavalet, Paris.)

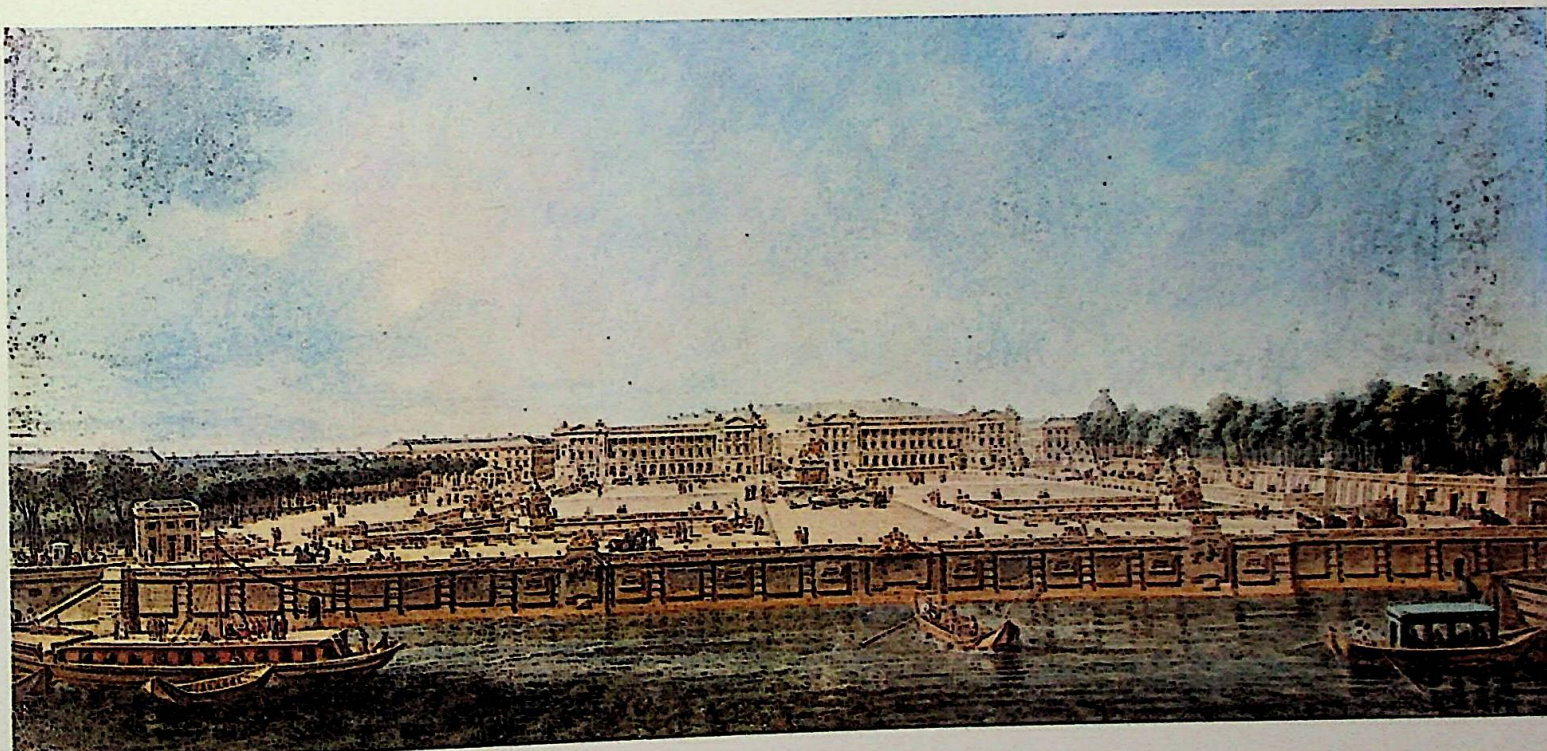
ENGLAND AND FRANCE TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XV

England	France	Europe
1600 Publication of Newton's <i>Principia</i> (1687) Accession of William of Orange (III) and Mary II (1688) Battle of the Boyne (1690) Death of Mary II (1694)	French take possession of Nice and Savoy (1696)	Peter the Great assumes the government of Russia (1689) War of the League of Augsburg (1697)
1700 Act of Settlement—English crown to Hanover (1701) Death of William III. Accession of Anne (1702) Union of England and Scotland (1707) Dismissal of Marlborough (1710) Death of Queen Anne. Accession of George I (1714) South Sea Bubble. Rise of Walpole (1720) Death of George I. Accession of George II (1727) Founding of Methodist Society (1730) War of Jenkins' Ear (1739) Bonnie Prince Charlie (1745)	Papal Bull, <i>Unigenitus</i> (1713) Death of Louis XIV. Accession of Louis XV. Regency of Duke of Orléans (1715) John Law's Bank (1716) Collapse of Law's financial system (1720) Death of Duke of Orléans (1723) Réamur's thermometer (1730) Corvée (public works) instituted by Fleury (1733) French East India Company established (1735) Famine in Paris (1740) Pompadour becomes Louis XV's mistress (1745) Machault's <i>vingtième</i> tax (1749)	Death of last Habsburg, Charles II of Spain (1700) War of the Spanish Succession (1701) Battle of Blenheim (1704) Peter the Great's defeat of Swedes at Poltava (1709) Treaty of Utrecht (1713) Treaty of Amsterdam. Russia as a European power (1717) Proclamation of Russian Empire (1721) Maria Theresa named as Habsburg heiress (1723) Death of Peter the Great (1725) War of the Polish Succession (1733) Accession of Frederick the Great (1740) Accession of the empress Elizabeth (1741)

England	France	Europe
1750 Death of George II. Accession of George III (1760) Expulsion of John Wilkes from the House of Commons (1764) James Watt's steam engine (1765) Repeal of the Stamp Act (1766) Hargreaves' spinning jenny (1767) Cook's first voyage (1768) Cook's second voyage (1772) 'Intolerable Acts' (1774)	Suppression of the Jesuits (1762) Purchase of Corsica (1768) Birth of N. Bonaparte (1769) Lorraine incorporated into France. Louis XV breaks the power of the <i>parlements</i> (1770) Death of Louis XV. Accession of Louis XVI (1774)	Seven Years War opens (1756) Death of the empress Elizabeth. Accession of Catherine the Great (1762) Peace of Paris (1763) Jesuits expelled from Spain by Charles III (1767) Linnaeus publishes his <i>Systema Naturae</i> (1768) First Partition of Poland (1772) Cossack's Revolt under Pugachev (1774)

Below: the handsome Place Louis XV, with the twin palaces designed by Gabriel and the garden of the Tuileries on the right. The

little hill in the background is the site of present-day Montmartre. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Imperial conflict in India

Aurangzeb, the last great Mogul; the empire decays; the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah; Afghans and Mahrattas; the Europeans' opportunity; the struggle begins; Dupleix and Clive; the Black Hole of Calcutta; the Battle of Plassey; Warren Hastings.

Indian history in the eighteenth century saw the end of the Mogul Empire and the beginning of the British. The decline of Mogul power produced chaos in India and a political vacuum which jeopardised the trade of the rival European nations who had previously been content to stay within their little enclaves in the subcontinent. It also provided them with an opportunity; by interfering in Indian politics, in a way they had never been allowed to do before, they might hope to exclude their rivals from the trade. European intervention on the Indian political scene only increased the chaos, and made the self-imposed isolation of the trading enclaves difficult to maintain. In time the Europeans came to see positive advantages in a territorial dominion which they had formerly eschewed. Finally, the European enemies—Britain and France—clashed with each other, and Britain won. In this manner arose the British Raj from the ashes of Mogul dominion.

Mogul twilight

It was in the long reign of the emperor Aurangzeb, who extended the empire to its greatest territorial limits, that the seeds of ultimate collapse began to appear. More intolerantly Muslim than his predecessors, Aurangzeb's policies produced a reaction in many sections of the Hindu community. Territorial expansion in itself merely made the empire more cumbersome. Moreover, there was a certain hardening of the arteries of the Mogul bureaucracy; lack of resolution and disregard for the importance of office. And once the empire began to deteriorate, it was unlikely that it would be regenerated by the Indian community. For all the years it had ruled the country, the Mogul dynasty was still an alien institution of Turkish origin. It had often commanded respect, rarely affection; if it was to be reformed, then reformation would have to come from the top or not at all.

With Aurangzeb's death in 1707 authority at the summit became divided and vacillating. After a shaky period of palace revolutions, Muhammad Shah emerged as emperor in 1719. The new ruler was shrewd and crafty, but unable to provide the leadership. During his twenty-nine years reign, he constantly mortgaged the future

to keep possession of the present. Large areas began to break away from centralised control, giving only nominal allegiance to the fading Moguls. Nevertheless, in Muhammad Shah's reign, the rot proceeded behind a facade that was still impressive. But when he died in 1748 the facade peeled away, exposing the wreck within. Titular and puppet emperors would succeed one another for a further century, but after 1750 the real question about Mogul power was what would replace it.

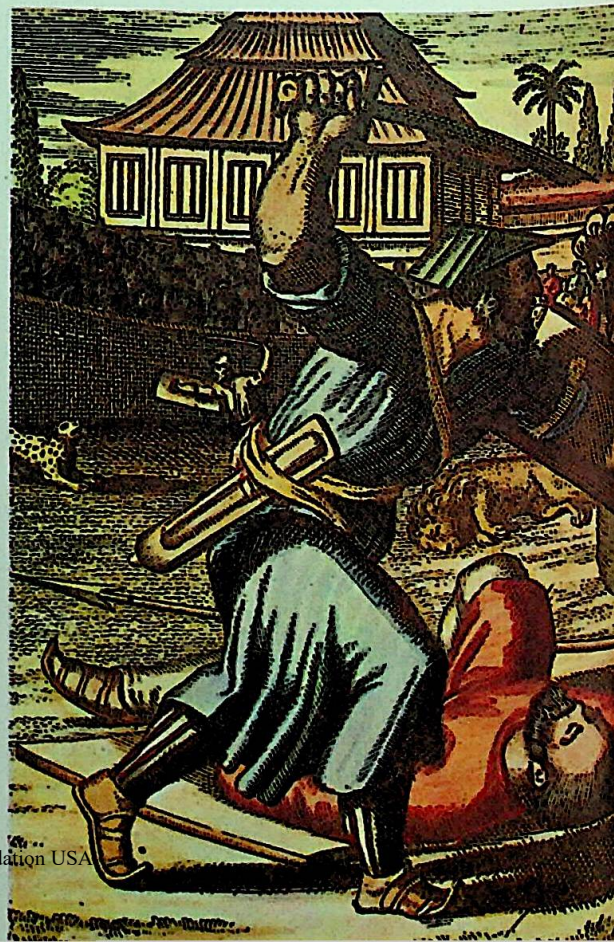
Persians, Afghans and Mahrattas

That the withering Mogul Empire might be replaced by a European one seemed anything but likely at the time, and indeed the idea was not even considered. Instead, eyes turned to India's menacing neighbours, Persia and Afghanistan, and also to the formidable Hindu power of the Mahratta Confederacy.

The Persians were the first in the field. In 1710 the old Safavid dynasty of Persia was ended by an Afghan invasion, and it seemed that the Persian Empire would fall to rapacious neighbours; Afghans, Russians, Turkomans and Turks all seized a share. But in 1730 a new Persian military leader appeared on the scene in the form of Nadir Shah, who first posed as a champion of the Safavids and then claimed the imperial throne for himself. Rapidly defeating the Afghans and the Turks, Nadir then succeeded in driving out the Russians, and a campaign which began with the securing of his eastern frontiers led to the invasion of India. In 1739 he defeated the Moguls and sacked Delhi. Somewhat unaccountably, however, he then replaced Muhammad Shah on the throne and withdrew. Perhaps he expected to return, but after more wars in central Asia, Nadir was assassinated in 1747. Persia disintegrated once more.

The Afghans now regained their independence, and found their own military genius in Ahmad Shah. After consolidating his own mountain kingdom, Ahmad rode through the passes and sacked Delhi in 1756. Meanwhile, in India itself, the Hindu Mahrattas had begun throwing off the shackles of Mogul dominion as soon as

Aurangzeb had died. Forming a confederacy and developing highly mobile military techniques, they spread right across central India to Orissa. Then, when the Afghans invaded, the Moguls called upon the Mahrattas for help. For a time, the Mahratta Peshwa drove back Ahmad Shah's forces, but this only made the Peshwa increasingly overbearing towards the Moguls. Soon the only thing that seemed in doubt was whether it would be an Afghan or a Mahratta emperor that replaced the great Mogul. But in 1761, both of these competitors for the imperial throne unexpectedly eliminated each other. In the decisive battle of Panipat, fought in January of that year, the Mahrattas were thoroughly crushed by the Afghans. Then, at the height of their power, the Afghan soldiers mutinied over back pay and Ahmad Shah's forces withdrew from India when it seemed that the country was theirs for the taking.





Indian civilisation was richly developed, and the court deeply influenced by Persian culture. Though following Islam, the Moguls were not generally intolerant, and Muslim and Hindu aristocracies existed side by side. Left: a nawab smoking his hookah. But the Moguls had their decadent side. Below left: men and beasts fight to the death for the diversion of the emperor. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

India Company's ships had often acted as the Mogul Empire's navy.

It was not until Colbert founded the French East India Company in 1664, and gained Pondicherry ten years later, that England had a really serious competitor. The new company made slow headway at first, and by the beginning of the eighteenth century French interest in India seemed on the wane. But in the reorganisation of colonial enterprises that took place after John Law's great débâcle, the French East India Company was put on a better footing. By 1740 it was quite a profitable concern, and besides Pondicherry and two other small posts on the mainland, also controlled the very important islands of Mauritius and Reunion in the Indian Ocean. Mauritius, especially, with its good harbour and its strategic position astride the main trade route from Europe, provided an excellent base from which France could protect her own shipping and menace that of Britain in time of war.

However, it was not until 1744 that conflict actually came. Previously, even when their respective nations had been at war in Europe, the British and French settlements in India had remained at peace—partly because the Moguls wished it that way and partly because it was more profitable to do so. But when the War of the Austrian Succession broke out the British governor rebuffed the overtures of the French to maintain the peace. What the Moguls wished no longer counted, and the British, who had a small squadron in Indian waters, thought they might quickly destroy the factories of their rivals. This move was almost a disaster. The French governor of Mauritius, Mahé de la Bourdonnais, quickly improvised a little fighting fleet of armed merchant vessels, drove the British squadron away from the coast and attacked and captured Madras. This, however, was the extent of the French success. The arrival of a British fleet under Admiral Boscawen precluded any further French offensives, and although Boscawen failed to take Pondicherry Madras was returned to Britain in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle that ended the war.

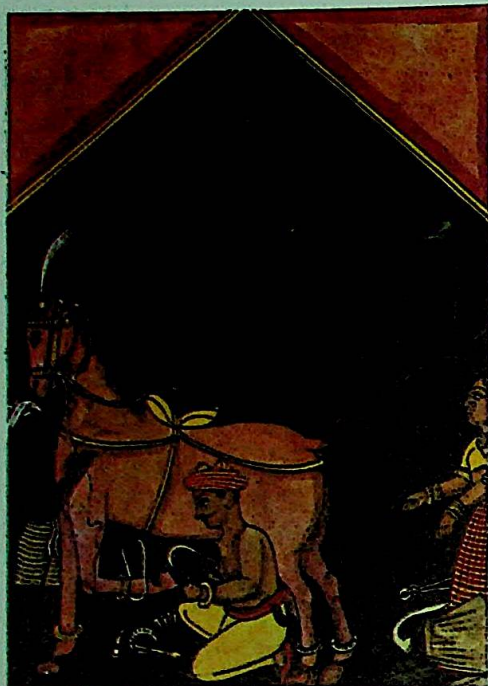
There now seemed to be no reason at all why commercial affairs in India should not return to their normal course, but in fact,

British and French

About two decades before the Battle of Panipat, it was becoming clear that a new relationship was developing between the Indian political powers and the Europeans who traded in the subcontinent. Previously, the Europeans had shown no interest in occupying Indian territory but had remained in their little trading factories and enclaves—the British in Madras, Bombay and Calcutta, the French in Pondicherry, the Portuguese in Goa and Diu—rather like frogs around the side of a pool. But what changed this situation was the increasing rivalry between the British and the French.

The English had arrived in India to find themselves competing with the Dutch and Portuguese; even the Danes and Germans had shown some interest in the area. But England had bested the Portuguese, while the efficient Dutch had devoted most of their trading activities to the Indonesian archipelago. The activities of the other nations had not amounted to much. The Moguls were in fact friendly to the English, and in the seventeenth century the East

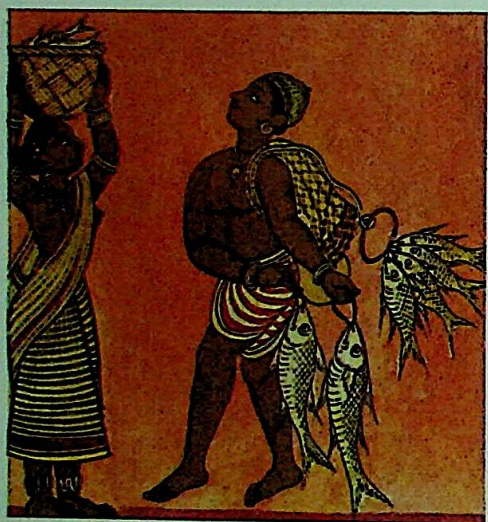




Life in India was overwhelmingly rural, and the family was its basic unit. Nevertheless, there were many other occupations as well. Domestic service was perhaps the most palatable form of unskilled labour.

Left: a series of supplementary vocations are depicted—the blacksmith, a fisherman and a fruit merchant.

Right: the spinning of cotton. For much of the eighteenth century, textiles were India's principal manufacture and were exported all over the world. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



Joseph Dupleix, the French governor of Pondicherry, was about to upset the balance for ever.

Joseph Dupleix

During the war, Dupleix had fallen foul, not only of the British, but also of the local Indian ruler, the Nawab of the Carnatic. When the latter sent a large army against him, Dupleix easily defeated it with a small European-trained force. This significant event made Dupleix realise that it was now possible for Europeans to interfere far more in Indian political affairs than had been possible in the days of Mogul strength. If by intrigue, diplomacy and small military campaigns the French could set up Indian puppet rulers who would support them, or if they could even control territory for themselves, then it would be possible for them to eject the English and monopolise the whole trade of the subcontinent. At first this conclusion seemed dubious. The expense of wars, subsidies and territorial administration would surely outweigh all the profits that might be made from eliminating the English. Such an idea would scarcely appeal to the commercially minded directors of the French East India Company. But Dupleix had an answer for that as well. Parts of India were very rich in agricultural produce, in textiles, and in many other items. If the French could control such areas to the extent of levying and collecting taxes from the inhabitants, it would be possible to build a wealthy empire that would cost the company and the French government nothing.

In 1748 the deaths of the two most important Indian potentates in the south and the resultant succession disputes gave Dupleix the opportunity of putting his plans into operation. The French backed their own candidates and actively supported them. When the Nizam of Hyderabad attempted to interfere, Dupleix's intrigues resulted in the Nizam's murder and a great extension of French influence. When the new Nizam visited Pondicherry, Dupleix, in Muslim robes, was seated beside him on the throne and created personal governor of an area not much smaller than France.

The British company's officials, although disturbed by this train of events, could at first think of no riposte. But Thomas Saunders, a tough governor who took over command in Madras in 1750, began replying in kind. Chanda Sahib, the French candidate for Nawab of the Carnatic, soon found the British supporting his rival, Muhammed Ali. Shortly afterwards, opposing Indian armies, stiffened by British or French troops, were on the move and there was fighting throughout the Carnatic. This complicated pattern of warfare continued for three years and was made famous by the exploits of Robert Clive and Stringer Lawrence for the English, and of the Marquis de Bussy for the French.

Dupleix himself was hopeless as a military leader, and when Bussy was forced to go north to Hyderabad to restore a position there that was becoming shaky, the English gained the ascendancy in the south. It was now that Clive really came to the fore. Muhammad Ali had long been urging a diversion against Arcot, one of Chanda Sahib's principal possessions. The British were dubious, but when the young Captain Clive offered to make an immediate attack, Saunders gave him his head. To everyone's astonishment, Clive's force of less than 300 easily occupied the city when the Indian garrison of 3,000 withdrew without fighting. Chanda Sahib quickly sent forces to besiege the place, but Clive held out for two months until relieved, so gaining the British their first considerable success. It was rapidly followed by others. Stringer Lawrence and Clive quickly cleared the whole of Arcot, and then attacked Chanda Sahib who was besieging a British force in Trichinopoly. In the ensuing engagement, several hundred French were captured, while Chanda Sahib was seized and put to death by an Indian rival.

Farther north, however, the French were doing better. In Hyderabad, Bussy was quite successful in getting his candidate, Salabat Jang, installed as Nizam, and in defending him against several rebellions. In return, Salabat made many concessions to the French, granting them the right to levy taxes and raise revenue in the Carnatic, which was nominally under his overlordship. This, in theory, was the fulfilment of Dupleix's policies, and the latter wrote an excited letter to the directors of the French East India Company, stating: 'This affair, of the highest importance to the Nation deserves the closest attention, for it will dispense with the need of sending funds to India for your investment.'

Yet this was a triumph in theory only. For the Carnatic, so freely given to the French by Salabat, was actually falling into the hands of the British candidate, Muhammed Ali, after the death of Chanda Sahib. Dupleix did his best to retrieve the situation. He now had difficulty in finding Indian candidates to support, and even thought at



one point of getting himself declared Nawab of the Carnatic. In the meantime his Indian allies besieged Trichinopoly again. Dupleix sent French reinforcements, but Stringer Lawrence, defending the city, held out through most of 1753. Dupleix then resorted to the desperate gamble of an assault with scaling ladders during the night. It came close to being a surprise success, but in the end was a heavy defeat for the French, with Dupleix losing about 400 of his regular troops.

Such events proved too much for the directors of the French East India Company. Dupleix's plans had been unorthodox in the first place, and his dealings with his superiors cavalier in manner. His failure to fulfil his plans could have but one end. In 1754 he was recalled in disgrace. But he had set forces in motion that would not be stopped easily.

The Black Hole of Calcutta

For the moment an effort was made to turn back the clock. The English and French companies entered into negotiations and produced a treaty in 1754 that delimited spheres of influence. Fighting was to end and once again it was to be business as usual.

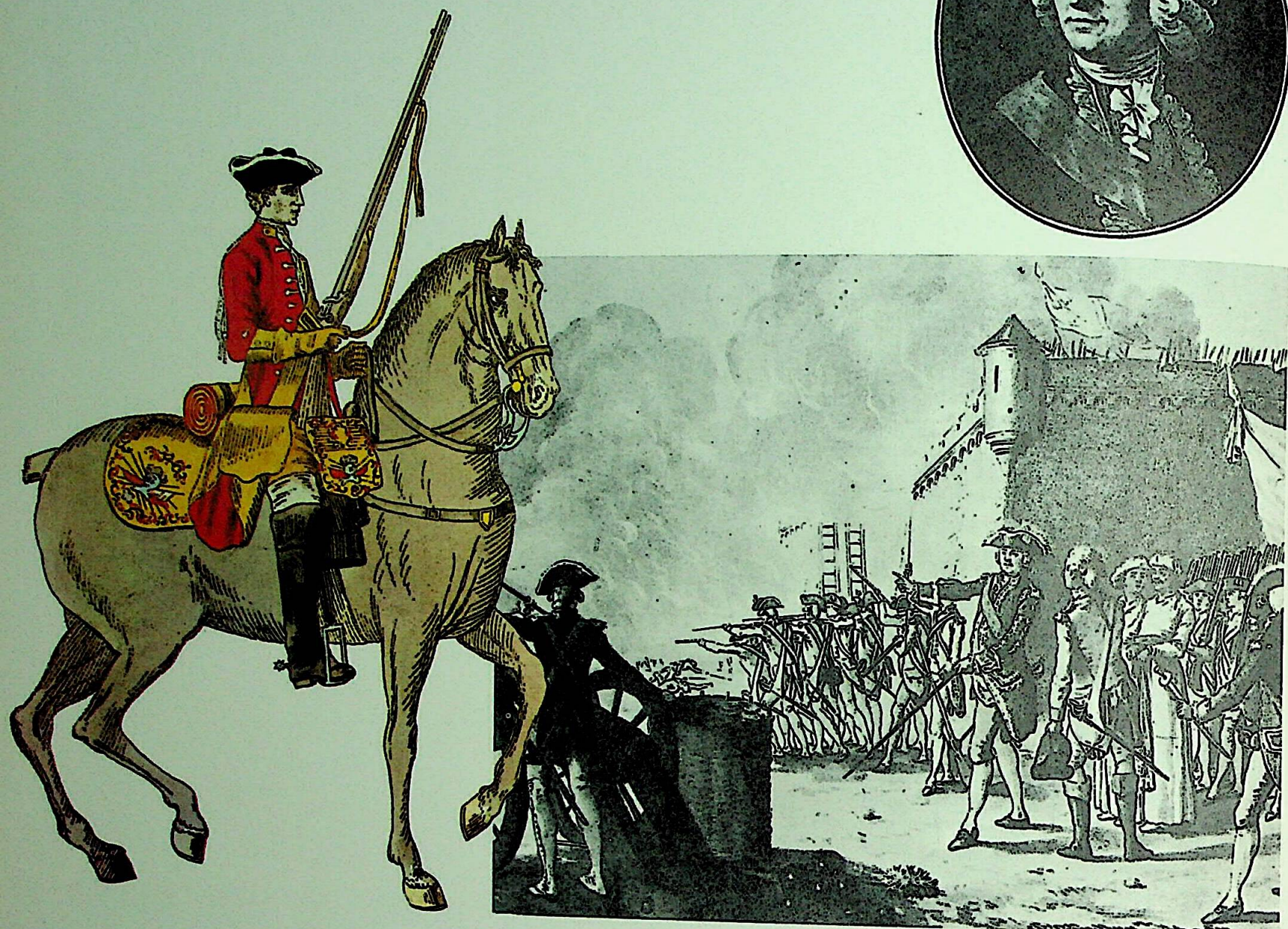
It was an Indian ruler who upset the new balance. In the north-east, Alivardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, had been increasingly disturbed by the European intrigues and fighting to the south. However, he had wisely remained neutral and contented himself with forcing the English and French in his own area to keep the peace. But when Alivardi died in 1756, his successor, Siraj-ud-Daula, decided on more direct action. Europeans in Bengal were ordered to limit the military defences of their forts. The British in Calcutta refused, and Siraj attacked them. Decrepit old Fort William was easily overwhelmed, and 146 of the captured British defenders were then locked up in a

tiny unventilated room where all but twenty-three stifled to death in one night. This incident—the Black Hole of Calcutta—was really a case of criminal negligence rather than of premeditated murder, but it provided the British with an emotional rallying cry and a cause to be avenged. In October Clive was ordered to retake Calcutta and given command of a force of 1800 Europeans and sepoys, as Indians trained by Europeans were called. Calcutta was easily retaken in the following year, and Siraj was defeated and forced to sign a treaty confirming the rights of the company. It was at the point that the outbreak of the Seven Years War again transformed the situation.

The Seven Years' War

As soon as news of the war arrived, Clive demanded permission from Siraj-ud-Daula to attack the French trading factories in Bengal. Siraj, however, now seriously worried at the growth of British power, began intriguing with Bussy in Hyderabad. Clive then determined that Siraj would have to be overthrown, and in June of 1757, with 3,000 British and sepoy troops, marched to Plassey where Siraj lay encamped with 50,000 men. Clive, brilliant, moody, reckless, spent the night before the battle in deep depression. So did Siraj. But in the morning they both determined to fight and in the ensuing curious encounter Clive suffered less than thirty casualties and Siraj only five hundred. Yet Plassey had the same result as a crushing and decisive victory. Siraj's army fled precipitously, he himself was hunted down and killed, while Mir Jafar, a British candidate, became regent in his place. The British were masters of Bengal; if they could deal with the French, they might be masters of all India.

In the south, the French moved first. By early 1758, troop reinforcements had arrived at Pondicherry under the command of the Comte de Lally. In the late spring, Lally took the offensive and won several small victories over weaker English forces, capturing Arcot, Cuddalore and Fort St David. At sea, however, Admiral Pocock defeated a French fleet, and Lally's advance then bogged down. Bussy was now recalled against his will from the north, and he and Lally together laid siege to Madras. In Fort St George, however, Stringer Lawrence held out for three months until a squadron arrived from Bombay and broke the siege. The tide now turned, and following Bussy's enforced departure, the French situation to the north began to deteriorate. Revolts broke out in Hyderabad, and even Salabat Jang, a French puppet for eight years, began negotiating with the British. He ultimately signed a treaty ceding some of his dominions to the East India Company. At the same time, the arrival of a large French squadron failed to shake Pocock's control of the sea, and in January of 1760 Eyre Coote heavily



defeated the French forces in the Battle of Wandiwash. From then on the French were in retreat. At last, after a long siege, Pondicherry capitulated in January of 1761. At the Peace of Paris in 1763, it was returned to France along with other minor settlements she had established in India before 1750. But French influence was now strictly limited to these enclaves; Dupleix's dreams of empire had perished for ever.

Clive in Bengal

The war over and the French defeated, Clive, rich with gifts and bribes he had accepted from the Indian enemies of Siraj, departed for England. But he left behind him a Bengal where chaos, far from ending, was getting worse.

Clive's successor was Henry Vansittart, who at twenty-eight had already seen fifteen years in the company's service. Not nearly so weak a man as contemporaries claimed,

Vansittart wished mainly to establish honest methods of trading. It was the actions of his subordinates that allowed matters to get out of hand. He took a rapid dislike to the incompetent Mir Jafar, deposed him, and put Mir Kasim in his place. With the latter Vansittart concluded an agreement freeing external trade from duty, but taxing all internal traders, English and Indian alike, at a rate of nine per cent. Vansittart's own council repudiated this, however, and the English would neither pay the duty nor allow Mir Kasim to abolish it for Indians as well. Mir Kasim in a rage massacred 150 British merchants at Patna. The company then launched a military offensive and destroyed Mir Kasim's armies in the battle of Buxar.

This victory in a sense opened the road to Delhi, where a Mogul emperor still maintained a shadowy existence, and it brought to the surface divided counsels amongst the company's servants. Some

became inflamed with grandiose ideas of empire; others, like Vansittart, wished to return to the old trading pattern; most of them simply wished to become rich. For the latter occupation, the times were propitious. The company's officers now wielded great power and accepted little responsibility. Huge sums were extorted or wheedled from the Indian potentates who in turn ground the peasantry with heavier taxes. Individuals became fabulously wealthy almost overnight. The East India Company, however, did not; indeed its profits fell as its servants ignored it and traded for their own interest. Soon Bengal was reduced to a state of misrule and anarchy as to make even Clive blench when he returned.

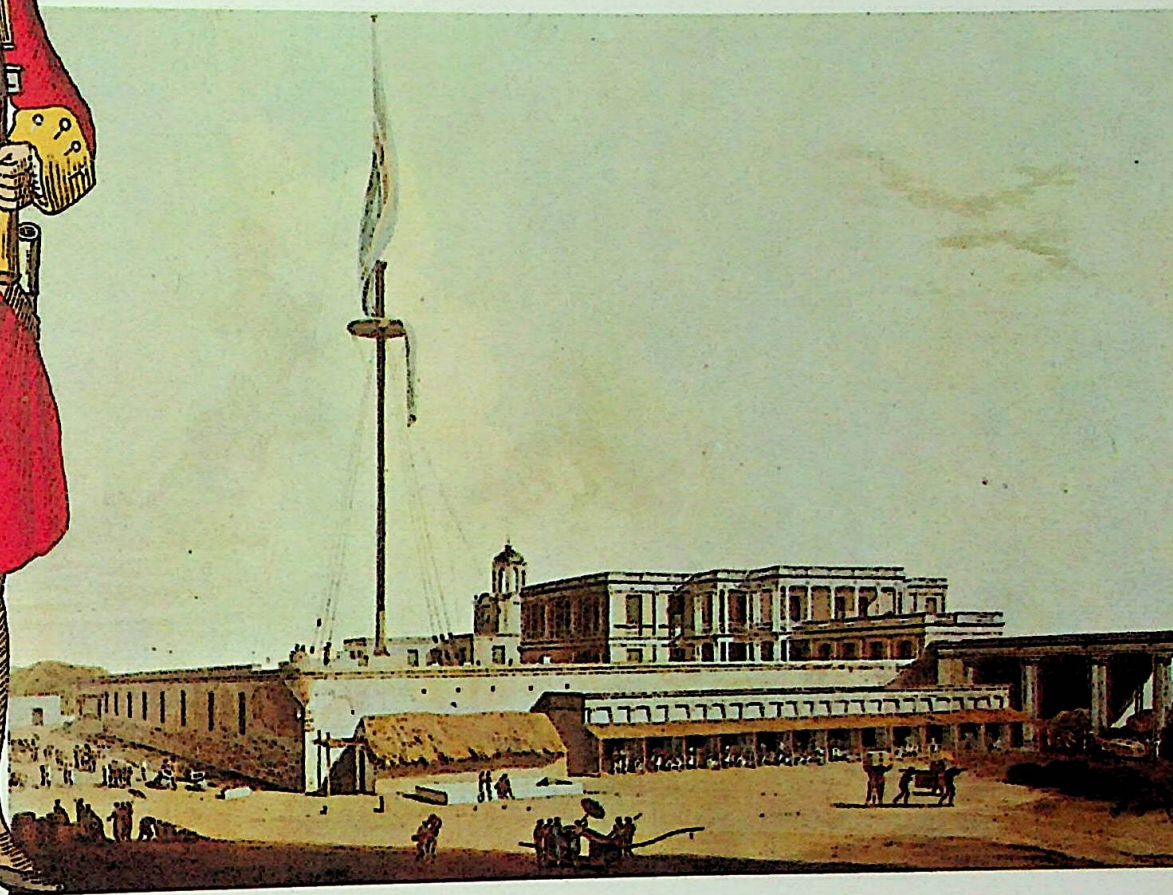
For return Clive did in 1765, and with full powers to end the corruption. He opposed the abuses and the anarchy resolutely enough, but had by no means solved the confusion when he departed again in 1767. More important for the



The Anglo-French rivalry. In the medallion, Joseph Dupleix, who first formulated the idea of European territorial rule in India. Below left: the siege of Pondicherry, which capitulated to the British in 1761. In colour are examples of British regular troops, horse and foot. Because of their training and superior weapons, small numbers of

Europeans might play decisive roles in large military engagements.

Below: the palace of the Nawab of the Carnatic. It was in supporting rival Indian candidates for this position that the British and French first began to fight each other. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



future was the political system he left behind him. By a treaty with the nominal emperor Clive set up a dual system of government which left the Nawab of Bengal with only formal power. The crucial *diwani*, or right to collect the revenue, was granted to the East India Company in the rich territories of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa. The taxes in these areas could more than pay for the company's administration there. Thus was the logic of Dupleix's system ultimately vindicated—but to the benefit of the British and not the French.

Warren Hastings

The man who became governor of Bengal in 1772, and who was destined to mould the state from the territory that Clive had secured, was little known outside company circles. Small, steely and self-contained, Warren Hastings was to construct the framework of British India. Arrogant

and opinionated, he could also show inexhaustible patience. He could stain his record by executing an inveterate Indian opponent for forgery, when forgery was a capital offence in England but not in India. Yet he thought more highly of Indians than many of the men who would follow him. 'Among the natives of India', he wrote, 'there are men of as strong intellect, and sound integrity and as honourable feelings as any of this kingdom'. It was Hastings' belief that British government should benefit the people of India as well as fill the coffers of the East India Company.

He arrived in a province racked by famine, extortion, and military troubles, with the Marathas on the borders. He attempted to tackle everything. The idea of dual government was abandoned: If the Company was to receive the revenue of Bengal, it must also take over the responsibilities of the internal administration. But Hastings' task was made inordinately

difficult at the outset by an action of the British government.

Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 was prompted by the misrule in Bengal and represented an attempt to bring Indian policy in the broadest sense under the control of parliament, although the East India Company would be left to work out details of administration. The Regulating Act promoted Hastings from governor of Bengal to governor-general in India, and gave him powers over the presidencies of Bombay and Madras. Yet it also circumscribed him, giving real executive power to a council which could outvote him. In fact, the council was to obstruct Hastings consistently, especially when the opposition was led by Philip Francis, who wished to return to the system of combined rule. The Hastings-Francis rivalry was a long and enervating struggle lasting over six years, but in the end the governor's opponents 'sickened and died and fled'.

Once Hastings had thus outlasted his adversaries, he was able to get on with his work. Of great importance both to Bengal and to the East India Company were his successful commercial reforms, particularly the long-overdue ending of the private trade of the company's servants. Administratively, he began the arduous overhaul of the all-important revenue-raising system, although this task was not to be completed until long after he had departed from the scene.

Yet it was in the preservation of the state he was building that Hastings was to play his greatest role, for soon the British were encompassed on all sides. From the beginning Hastings was confronted with the problem of uneasy borders around Bengal, and felt the necessity of making alliances with friendly Indian princes and of supporting his allies in their disputes. This was the policy that would point in future to the slow march of British territorial dominion across the whole of the subcontinent. The securing of borders would involve the conquering of fresh territory, but this in turn would mean new borders, new troubles, new conquests. Nevertheless, Hastings was able to restrain this policy of reluctant empire-building for the moment so far as Bengal was concerned, but his unruly subordinate presidencies of Bombay and Madras involved him in grave trouble. Rash actions at Bombay provoked war with the Marathas, now finally recovered after Panipat, and led to the annihilation of a small British army. The situation at Madras was even worse; there, the policy of the presidency provoked a really colossal confederation against the British of all important powers in the area—the Marathas, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and Haidar Ali, the formidable ruler of Mysore—and led to the defeat of two British armies.

It was at this juncture that the outbreak of the American Revolution allowed the French to begin intriguing again and ultimately enabled them to take direct military action. Yet Hastings overcame all difficulties. The governor of Madras was suspended, and proper military dispositions were made. Then superb diplomacy neutralised the Nizam and also the more important Maratha leaders. Haidar Ali went on fighting, but died in 1782. By the time French arms actually arrived on the scene, there was little they could do. The fleet of the brilliant French admiral, Suffren, was fended off by the workmanlike British commander, Sir Edward Hughes. The famous Bussy arrived with an army only to find that the war had ended before he could launch an offensive. At the peace, the French were

again returned their trading settlements which Hastings had overrun, but again received nothing more. British dominion in India was more firmly established than ever when, in 1785, Hastings was replaced as governor-general by Lord Cornwallis.

The brilliant careers of Clive and Hastings ended in tragedy. Clive found no scope in England for his restless, unstable genius. His great years in India were investigated by Parliament at the instigation of his enemies, who accused him of peculation. He was eventually acquitted but became morose, and committed suicide in 1774. Hastings, expecting to be received as a hero on his return, found himself instead impeached by the House of Commons. The intrigues of Philip Francis had persuaded Edmund Burke to this course; Burke was sincerely but mistakenly convinced that Hastings was the author of many of the abuses he had been trying to suppress. The trial dragged on for eight years, during which Hastings was obliged to justify his achievements. He did this with tenacious dignity and in the end was acquitted—but his ordeal, which began in his vigorous middle age, left him an old man.

For Cornwallis, his successor in India, this course of events was to be reversed. He went to India from the humiliation of the surrender at Yorktown in the War of American Independence—and stayed to build a great career. Under him the state which Clive had conquered and Hastings had formed was to be fashioned into a practical administrative reality.



Right: a Hindu temple at the edge of a forest in Bihar. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



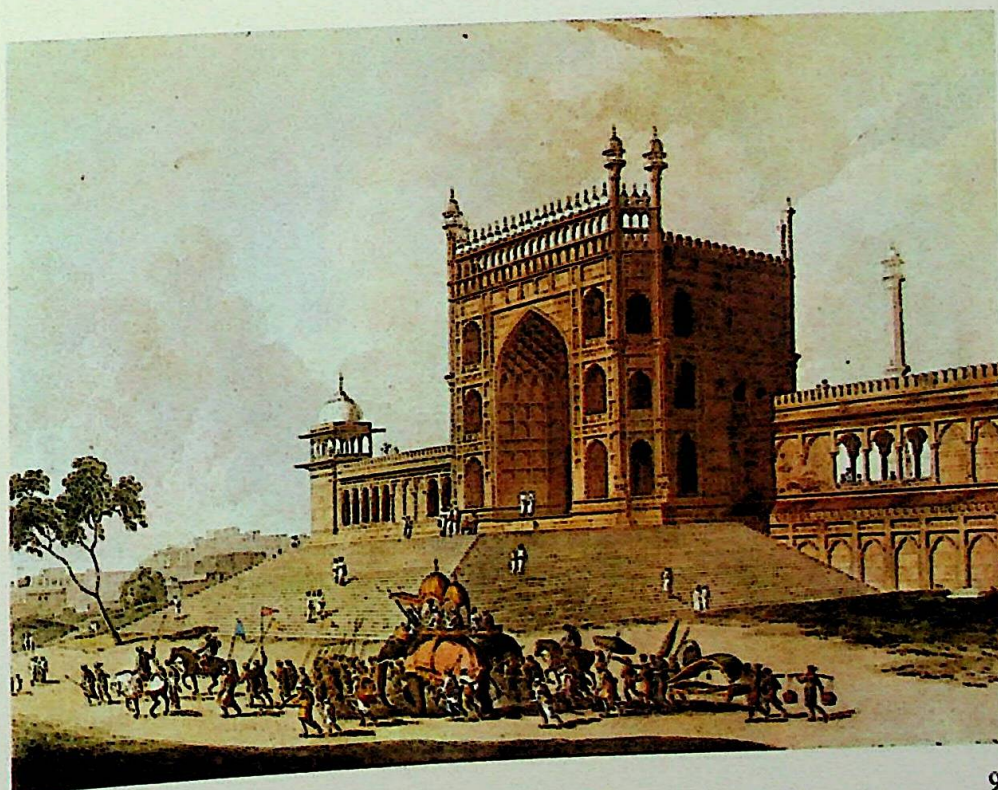
INDIA: THE DECLINE OF THE MOGULS AND THE BRITISH ASCENDANCY

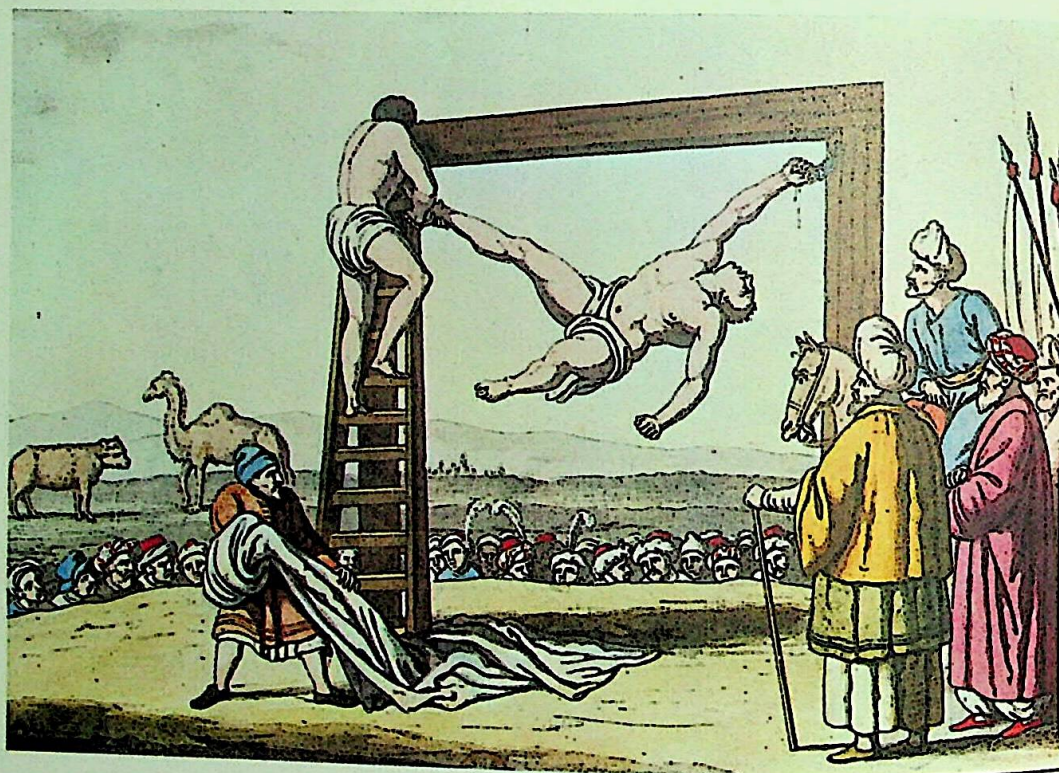
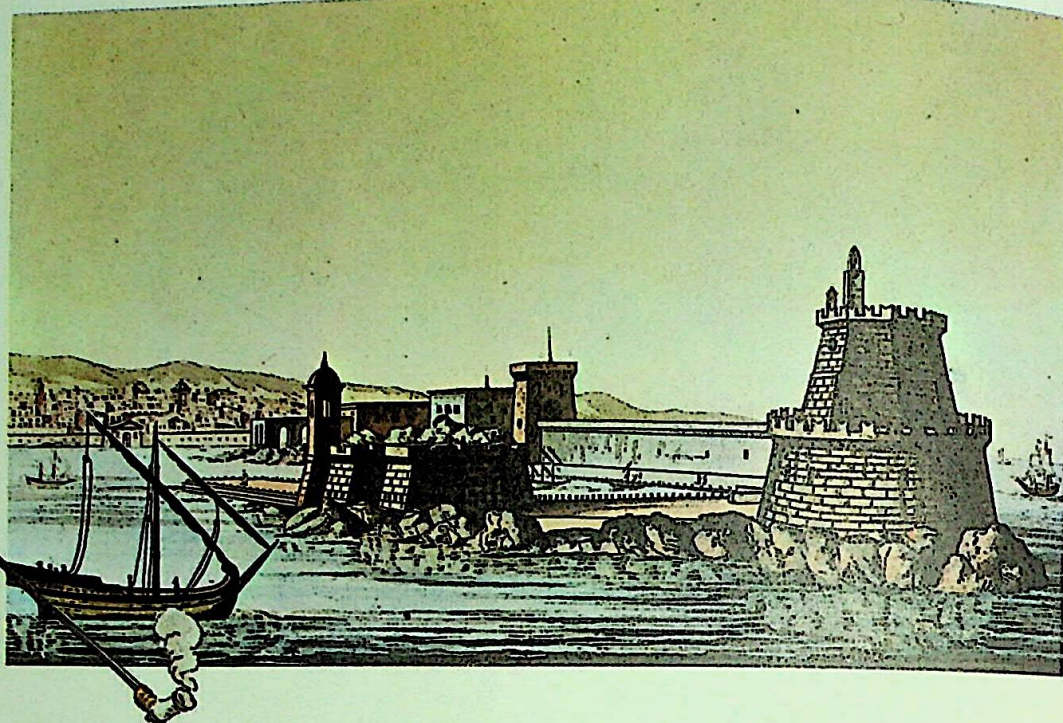
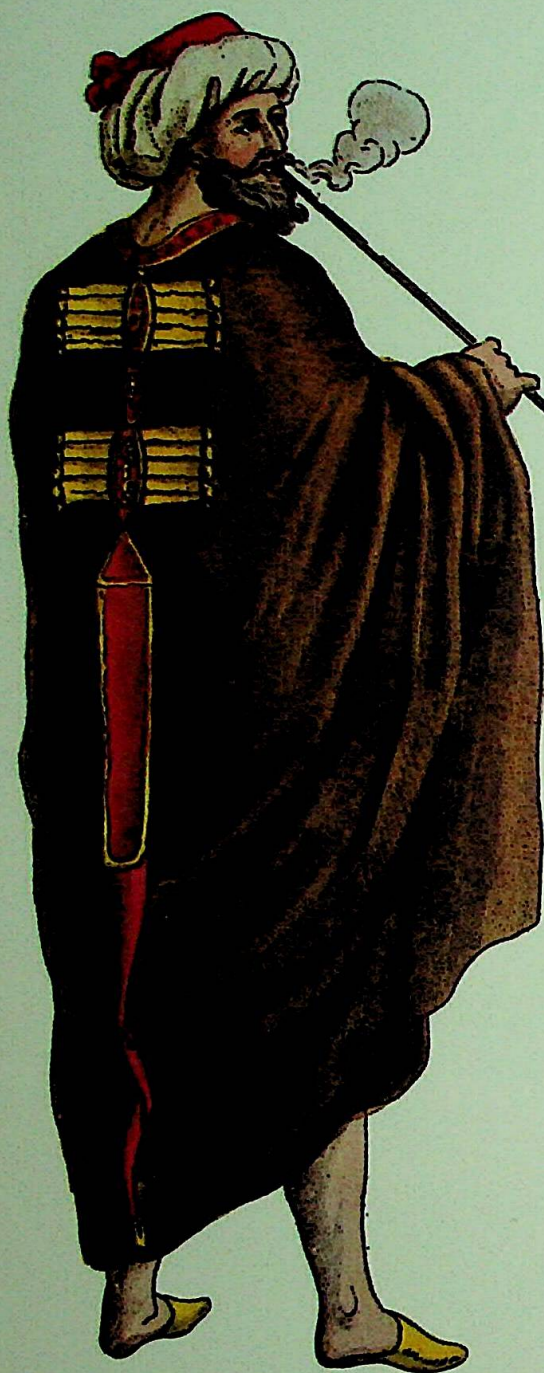
Europeans in India	India	Neighbouring states
1600 English East India Company trading post at Fort St George, Madras (1639) Founding of French East India Company (1664) Charles II grants Bombay to the East India Company (1668) French established at Pondicherry (1674) Establishment of English factory at Calcutta (1689)	Accession of Aurangzeb (1658) Chittagong annexed by Aurangzeb (1666)	First Russian mission to Persia (1664)
1700 English East Company secures exemption from customs duties (1717) Dupleix captures Madras from British (1746) Madras returned to British. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) Clive seizes Arcot. Dupleix recalled to France (1751) Black Hole of Calcutta (1756) Battle of Plassey (1757) Battle of Buxar. English in control of Bengal and Bihar (1764) Clive leaves India (1767) Dissolution of French East Company (1769) Warren Hastings governor of Bengal (1772) Lord North's Regulating Act (1773) Warren Hastings leaves India (1785)	Death of Aurangzeb. Accession of Muhammad Shah (1707) War between Sikhs and Moguls (1708) Rise of the Mahrattas (1717) Hyderabad proclaims independence from Moguls (1724) Sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah (1738) Sack of Delhi by Ahmad Shah (1756) Battle between Mahrattas and Afghans at Panipat (1761) Massacre at Patna. Indian armies defeated at Buxar (1764)	Kandahar proclaims independence from Persia (1706) Afghans secure independence from Persia (1706) Afghans invade Persia (1722) Shah Mahmud's reign of terror in Isphahan (1724) End of Safavid dynasty in Persia. Nadir Shah siezes throne (1736) French take possession of Réunion and Mauritius (1740) Assassination of Nadir Shah. Ahmad Shah assumes power in Afghanistan (1747) The English establish trading post at Bushire on the Persian Gulf (1763) The English at Basra (1770) Afghan power at its zenith. Death of Ahmad Shah (1773)



Above: a young prince and two elegant maidens.

*Right: a Mogul palace in Delhi.
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*





Scenes from the Barbary Coast in the eighteenth century.

Top: the fortified harbour of Algiers.

Above: Islamic judges preside over one of the more barbaric punishments which lingered on in civilised north Africa.

Above right: a funeral service, while (below) a notable travels with his wife who is well-protected from public view by a dais.

Above left: a well-to-do Berber.

(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

Africa in the eighteenth century

The Turkish north; pirates and corsairs; the Arab slave trade; the Dutch at the Cape; the slave trade in West Africa.

European colonial and commercial rivalries were important in eighteenth-century Africa, but there the European presence was largely confined to the coast. This was partly because the interior of the continent held few obvious attractions, and partly because penetration inland was precluded from large areas by the prevalence of malaria, sleeping-sickness and yellow fever.

The Mediterranean north

In those parts of Africa which bordered on the Mediterranean, the most notable characteristic of the period was the continuing decline of the Turkish Empire which was nominal ruler over much of the area. This created an effective political fragmentation, and the local scene in most regions oscillated

seemingly those of Egypt, although with important local variations. The pashas, representing the Sultan of Turkey, were forced to delegate most of their powers to local beys and deys. These often fought amongst themselves, and the two states also warred against each other; but the European commercial presence was much stronger than in Egypt. Some rulers were violently xenophobic, and turned the foreigners out; others, however, made important commercial concessions and signed treaties with the Europeans, especially with the French. More and more the once formidable fleets of pirates and corsairs that these areas had formerly supported gave way to normal shipping connections. This was also true of the huge and independent kingdom of Morocco. Despite its unwieldy size and a period of anarchy in mid-century, Morocco, especially during the reigns of Mulay Ismail (1672–1727) and Mulay Muhammad (1757–90), saw long periods of peace and order. Moreover, despite an inveterate dislike of the Portuguese, who controlled some of their coastal cities, the Moroccans were willing to come to terms with other Europeans. The Danes were given a monopoly of trade on the Atlantic coast, while the Dutch and French were very active on the Mediterranean.

East Africa

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the ancient, Islamised city-states of the East African coast, such as Kilwa and Mombasa, had been subdued by Portugal as part of the latter's strategy for dominating the entire maritime commerce of the Indian Ocean. During the seventeenth century, however, Portugal fell into decline, and many of the outposts of her eastern empire were commandeered by the English and the Dutch. But neither of these powers was much interested in East Africa, and here the failing hand of the Portuguese was gradually displaced by Arabs from Oman, the principality that had claimed the trading cities before the Europeans arrived. Finally, in 1698, the chief bastion of Portuguese power, Fort Jesus in Mombasa, fell to the Imam of Oman after a two-year siege. In the early eighteenth century the Portuguese made some attempts to recover their lost supremacy but only met with further defeats.



On the coasts, however, the presence of the Europeans was becoming increasingly important. In the north, the rather disorganised Arab and Berber principalities were drawn into closer commercial relationship with Europe. In the extreme south, the Dutch were inadvertently laying the foundations of the one African state which would eventually have really significant numbers of white settlers. On the west coast, and increasingly on the east, the slave trade was of prime importance, but whereas the former area saw the heyday of European traffic in human beings, in the latter region a weak European power was replaced by a strong Arab one.

between bouts of outright anarchy and periods of stern dictatorship. In Egypt, real power remained with the Mamelukes—former slaves from Georgia and Turkestan—but within their ranks individuals rose and fell with bewildering rapidity. Sometimes a strong ruler emerged, such as Ali Bey, who between 1757 and 1772 secured full control of Egypt and also occupied parts of Arabia and Syria, but too often the scene was one of chaos and decrepitude. Yet for all this, and for all its grave commercial decline, Egypt managed to retain a precarious independence both of Europeans and its nominal Turkish overlords.

In Tunisia and Algeria, conditions re-

By 1730, their power had ceased to exist north of Mozambique.

Despite their victory over the Portuguese, troubles in Arabia itself kept successive imams occupied, and it was not for another century that Oman was able to occupy Zanzibar effectively and establish a firm hegemony over the coast. During the eighteenth century, therefore, each city-state was usually governed by a local Arab dynasty, although the predominance of the Mazrui family brought some measure of political cohesion. It was during this period that the East African slave trade became a major factor, and great Arab caravans bought slaves inland to be sold eventually in the markets of Turkey, Arabia, India and Persia, or to the French colonies of Mauritius and Reunion. Thus began the period when pipes sounded on Zanzibar truly made men dance in the region of the inland lakes.

The Dutch in the south

The most important European incursion in the history of Africa began on 6 April 1652, in the southern part of the continent. On that day Jan van Riebeeck dropped anchor in Table Bay with three ships and a small group of settlers. The Dutch East India Company had decided to make the Cape of Good Hope its chief provisioning station between Holland and the Indonesian archipelago. In the ensuing years more settlers came, including a few French Protestants. But throughout the whole period of Dutch rule, the progress of the colony was slow, tortuous, and trammelled by restrictions. The Cape was truly a company settlement, and the colonists were continually hedged in by the instructions given by the directors of the East India Company in Holland.

Nevertheless, the Dutch settlers were fortunate in their temperate climate, spectacular scenery and in the lack of competitors for the land. The only African peoples in the immediate vicinity, the bushmen and the Hottentots, were few in number. The tiny, Stone Age bushmen proved to be sly enemies and the Dutch did not hesitate to exterminate them or drive them back. Relations with the Hottentots were better. Despite some conflicts, a reasonably cordial understanding was established

Depicted are warriors of the Congo, carrying various types of weapons, and (above) a view of the Congo River itself. On the extreme right is a European trader on the Senegal, bartering with an African counterpart. The Europeans sought gold, ivory, musk, wax and gums as well as slaves, but as the eighteenth century wore on, the latter trade became virtually all-important. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)





with many of these more sophisticated, cattle-raising and copper- and iron-working people. Some of the Hottentots were willing to work on the Dutch farms; other labour was provided by Negro slaves brought to the colony from West Africa. This latter factor was to increase in importance especially when the Dutch East India Company took the momentous decision in 1717 that slave labour rather than free was to be the basic rule for the settlement. The eastern part of the colony was expanding rapidly, and in 1776 Dutch frontiersmen met with westward-moving Bantu tribesmen in the region of the Great Fish River. First contacts were friendly, but by this time, years of slave-owning experience had indelibly fixed in the minds of the settlers some very definite ideas about the place of the Negro in the Dutch God's scheme of creation. The implications for the future were tremendous.



West Africa and the slave trade

There had been a slave trade in West Africa for centuries before the coming of the Europeans. South of the Sahara, in the vast grasslands area known as the Sudan, great, civilised Negro empires had grown up in medieval times. These states had long raided the forest areas for slaves, who were then transported across the desert for sale in the markets of Morocco. But the Sudan had been falling into increasing chaos and decline since 1590, and soon the flow of slaves was moving south to the ocean rather than north to the desert.

Throughout the eighteenth century, the harbours of the West African coastline, reaching from Senegal to Angola, was annually infested with European ships seeking to purchase slaves. The great and increasing demand for sugar in Europe had in turn created an insatiable demand for slave labour in Brazil and the West Indies, where the sugar was grown. So, to sweeten the beverages of Europeans, millions of Africans were kidnapped, branded, shipped across the ocean and worked to death on the plantations of the New World. Exactly how many were taken we shall never know. Perhaps 8,000,000 slaves arrived in America in the course of this century alone; perhaps 2,000,000 more died on the way.

The trade was very well organised, and the Europeans did not capture slaves themselves as a rule. Rather, the latter were captured far inland, in great slave-raiding wars, then sold through a series of African middlemen down to the coast, where Europeans acquired them from local chiefs in exchange for goods in demand in Africa, such as guns, copper and iron ware, rum and textiles. Trading methods varied widely from one part of the coast to another, and certain areas were generally considered the preserves of particular European nations. The English, for example, dominated the





In tropical Africa, the ancient customs of the various peoples were intermingled with those introduced by the Atlantic slave-trade.

Far left: a slave-coffle makes its way along a road in the Congo.

Left: a chief, clad in finery bought from the Europeans, gives his orders.

Below: a seated Congo chief in more traditional dress.

Left: a dancer from his court and (right) a market-woman from the Ivory Coast.

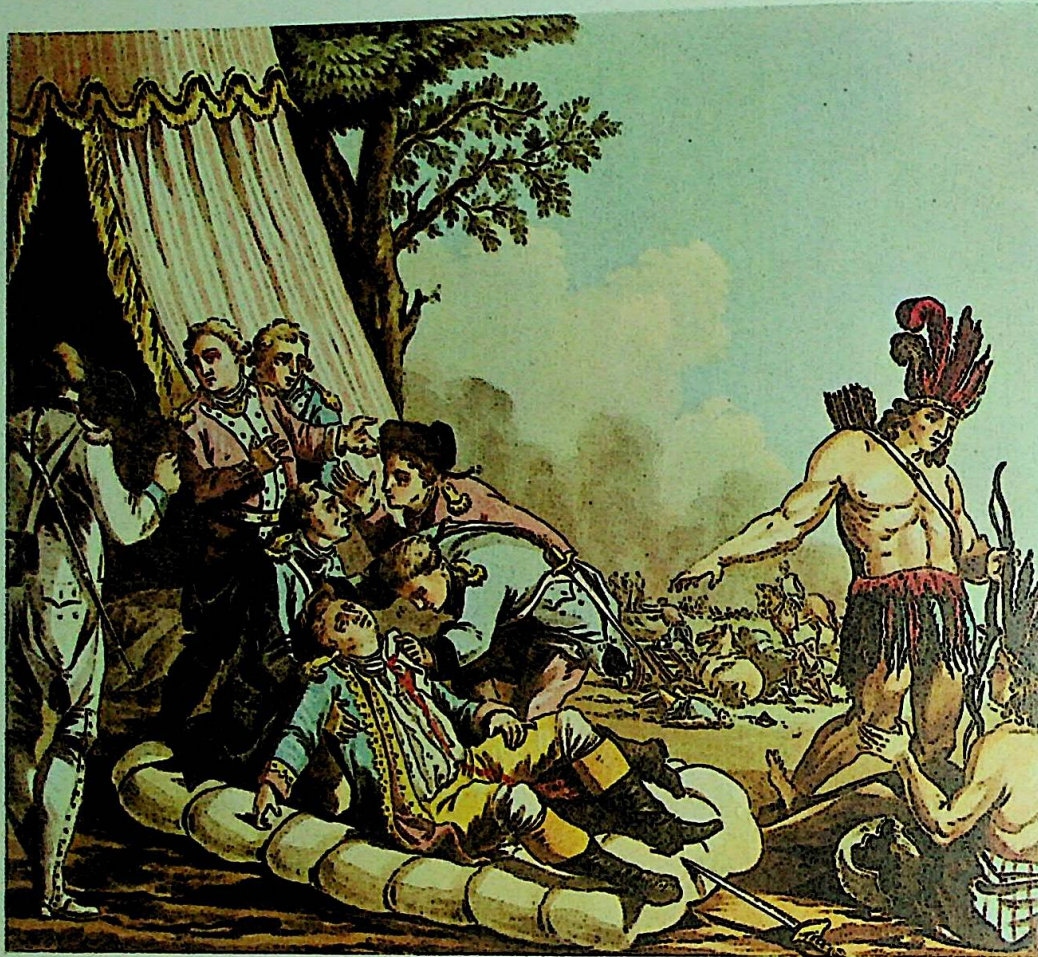
(Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)



trade in the Gambia and Sierra Leone, the French in Senegal and Gabon, the Portuguese in Angola. But in other places, like the Niger delta and Dahomey, ships of several nations traded together. On the Gold Coast, where the competition was most keen, the British, Dutch and Danes had about twenty forts and large castles interspersed one with another.

Most of the European nations originally found it expedient to grant a monopoly of their share of the slave trade to large chartered companies with great resources of capital. The prototype of these was the Dutch West Indies Company, formed in 1621, which quickly asserted its power and drove the Portuguese from most of West Africa by mid-century. Other peoples—English, French, Danes, Swedes and even Germans from Brandenburg—all formed national trading companies in imitation of the Dutch. Few survived the intense competition. In the long run the British did better by abandoning the chartered Royal African Company, formed in 1672, which was losing much trade to 'interlopers'—English individuals or firms who illegally ignored the company's monopoly and got away with it. In 1750, the corporation was dissolved and replaced by a new association called the Company of Merchants. This body did no business on its own account, but existed to facilitate the slave trade for all English merchants who wished to participate in it. Anyone could become a member of the company by paying a small annual subscription, and this abolition of monopoly proved advantageous. The English share of the trade steadily increased during the century, and by 1785 Britain was buying and selling more slaves than all other European nations combined.

Among the side effects of the slave trade was the influence it had on African political development. The tiny city-states of the Niger delta, for instance, adapted traditional tribal institutions to the demand for slaves and created quite astonishing and complex commercial organisations. In other areas the introduction of firearms encouraged African tribes to expand their territories. In the interior of the Gold Coast, the Confederation of Ashanti steadily grew throughout the century, defeated its rivals and by 1800 was threatening the European position on the coast. Farther east, under a series of strong and implacable kings, Dahomey began empire-building in the same fashion. Thus, the inhuman trade had created powerful vested interests in Africa and America as well as in Europe. The fight to abolish 'the abominable traffic' was bound, in these circumstances, to be both protracted and arduous.



The struggle for North America

Spain holds her own; the French and the English confront each other; Old World wars in the New World; the Marquis de Montcalm; Wolfe at Quebec—the decisive battle; the false peace.

Besides India, the other great area of colonial dispute was America. Here, France, Spain and Britain struggled for the control of a hemisphere.

Three factors can be named as most important in determining who won or lost in the American conflict—sea-power, settlement and disease. The nation that controlled the sea could destroy harbours and capture islands with ease. More important, it could keep vital supplies from reaching the colonies of its rivals. On the other hand, areas that were well settled could support large bodies of regular troops and militia, and were invariably difficult to subdue. The role played by disease has rarely been stressed, but was of immense importance. Certainly malaria and yellow fever were prime factors in determining the course of warfare in the tropical regions of America.

In the case of the Spanish Empire, the last two of these three determinative factors were strongly operative. Despite her military

decrepitude, Spain's imperial position was always much sounder than it appeared. We have already seen how the great British offensive against Latin America in the seventeen-forties was a complete failure; the Spanish strength lay with her defences, which were basically sound. Lack of sea-power always enfeebled her aggressive intentions, and tied her to the coat tails of France.

In continental North America, on the other hand, disease was not of great importance, and here it was Britain that had both settlement and sea-power working in her favour. Her colonists on the eastern seaboard were in such great numbers that, by the eighteenth century, there was no real chance of their being driven from the continent; it was simply a question of whether or not they could be contained. At the same time, the power of her navy made it easy for Britain to protect and nourish her own possessions while striking against

the enemy either in the Caribbean or up the St Lawrence River.

France was somewhat, though not completely, lacking in all three essentials. Disease could protect her West Indian colonies from attack to a certain extent; in Quebec, she had a small area that was well settled; her sea-power was by no means weak, especially when joined to that of Spain. But she suffered from grave disadvantages, and these would prove decisive in the event of major clashes with Britain. She attempted to make up for these as best she could. It was impossible to maintain large armies in North America because they could not be supplied, but she could and did send small bodies of very good troops and some excellent officers; she could build strong fortresses like Quebec and Louisbourg; she could practise Indian diplomacy astutely; she could count on a divergence of interests between the various British colonies, and between the colonies and Britain herself.

Lastly, she could hope that victories won by her fine armies in Europe might counter-balance defeats in America. Yet, despite a gallant struggle, French weakness in sea-power and settlement was ultimately fatal.

The British and French Empires

The Anglo-French duel for North American supremacy, which had begun in William III's time, continued for the next half century and reached its climax in the seventeenth-fifties. During the same period, both empires continued to expand after their own fashion. For the English, growth was primarily demographic. Although the population of New France made the startling leap from about 7,000 to about 60,000 in this time, it remained absolutely dwarfed by that of the English colonies which was rapidly pushing on towards the number of 2,000,000. Territorially however, driven by the needs of the fur trade, the French Empire continued to spread its borders west and south. In the score of years after 1720, a chain of forts, such as Niagara and Detroit, were built in the Great Lakes region, south into Ohio and Illinois territory, and then far to the west when La Verendrye pushed deep into the Canadian prairies. In the extreme south, Iberville's brother, Bienville, founded New Orleans in 1718, and the French began moving up and down the Mississippi in an attempt to link New France with Louisiana.

British territorial expansion in the same period was more modest. In the north, Fort Oswego was built on the south-east shore of Lake Ontario, and Nova Scotia was conquered from the French. In the south, the uninhabited territory between Carolina and Florida was penetrated in 1733 when General James Oglethorpe founded the colony of Georgia. This settlement was designed as a philanthropic venture which, it was hoped, would provide a new life for worthy but insolvent debtors. Such things as slavery and the trading of rum to the Indians were prohibited, but most settlers soon left the colony for the easier life of Carolina. In 1752 the restrictions were finally removed, normal colonial government instituted, and the colonists granted 'the one thing lacking'—the introduction of slavery.

Even during wartime, the English colonists were inhibited from directing all of their energies against their French enemy by their quarrels and discords with each other. Moreover, trouble was brewing between the colonists and Britain herself over the question of how much political power should reside in the elected colonial assemblies and how much should be exercised from London. But one thing was clear: the English settlers were increasingly ready to burst the boundaries set by the Allegheny mountains and spill into the Mississippi valley where they would collide with the rapidly expanding French.



Above left: the French commander, Louis Joseph de Montcalm, mortally wounded at Quebec. James Wolfe, the British commander, was killed in the same battle. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

The English, French and Spanish in North America. The real struggle for supremacy was between France and England and for some time France, with her energetic exploration of the Mississippi valley, looked like confining her rival to the Atlantic seaboard. However, the English settlers were the more prolific and the greater numbers were a major factor in the British victory.



Spanish Succession and Austrian Succession

The War of the League of Augsburg had ended in 1694 with the French gaining certain advantages in North America. The War of the Spanish Succession (1702–14), which soon followed it, again saw colonial campaigns which were waged over thousands of miles along the eastern coast of the hemisphere. In the south, the French began well, their forces ravaging the settlements of England's Portuguese ally in Brazil. In the Caribbean, Iberville took the offensive once more, capturing St Kitts and Nevis before he died of fever. The English, however, soon recaptured the former island, although disease and stubborn French resistance ended their attempted conquest of Guadeloupe. Farther north, Governor James Moore of Carolina moved south into Florida and devastated a dozen Spanish mission villages. At St Augustine, however, Governor Zúñiga successfully defended the

fort for seven weeks until Moore was forced to retreat. In 1706, it was the Carolinians who were on the defensive when a major Franco-Spanish expedition failed to take Charleston. The British then struck back, but two sorties against Pensacola also miscarried.

It was farther north that the most important fighting of the war took place. Oddly enough the exposed area of New York saw little action owing to the neutrality of the Iroquois Indians, who remained faithful to their treaty with Governor Frontenac. New England, however, suffered severely from raids by French Indians, the most famous of which was the sack of Deerfield, Massachusetts in 1707. But New England proved able to retaliate. Two militia attacks on Port Royal, Nova Scotia, failed in 1708, but two years later the energetic Francis Nicholson at last seized the ill-defended fort, and Nova Scotia fell into British hands.

In 1711, it was decided that Nicholson should advance overland to Montreal, while



a major British amphibious expedition should strike down the St Lawrence River directly to Quebec. The military commander on this ill-starred venture was to be Brigadier Jack Hill, a brother of Abigail Masham. He commanded seven veteran regiments of British regulars, and the English Tories hoped he would win a great victory to offset the triumphs of the Whigish Duke of Marlborough. He did not get the chance. The fleet transporting his men was commanded by Admiral Hovenden Walker, an old nonentity. Walker was not entirely destitute of all qualities of seamanship, but was unfortunate enough to make the egregious error of attempting the ascent of the St Lawrence without good pilots. As a result, on the night of 23 August, many of his ships piled up on the north shore. Seven transports, one stores ship, and about 900 men were lost, and English hopes of capturing Quebec ended in tragedy.

In the Peace of Utrecht, which ended the war, England made substantial colonial gains. Nova Scotia became hers, and her sovereignty over Newfoundland was recognised as well. All fur trading posts commanded by the French on Hudson Bay were given up, while in the Caribbean the island of St Kitts at last became a firmly established British possession. Finally, Spain granted to Britain the *asiento*—the sole right to carry slaves from Africa to the Spanish colonies—for a period of thirty years. Such concessions were, however, owing less to the feats of British arms in North America itself than to Marlborough's splendid victories in Europe. But it was during this war that Britain emerged as the most formidable sea power in the world, and this was to have an inestimable effect on the future.

The major colonial theatre of operations in the War of Jenkin's Ear (which merged into that of the Austrian Succession, 1739–48) was the Caribbean, and the defeat of Britain's great offensive in that area has already been described. But there was also important fighting on the continent as well. In the south British forces, now commanded by Oglethorpe, failed twice more in attempts to take St Augustine. Nevertheless, in 1742, Oglethorpe, with only 600 men, skilfully cut to pieces a Spanish army of 3,000 intent on conquering Georgia.

This important defensive success was matched by an offensive victory in the north. Despite the loss of Nova Scotia, the French position in that area had actually grown stronger rather than weaker. On the island of Cape Breton they had built the

huge fortress of Louisbourg to command the Gulf of St Lawrence. Moreover, the majority of the inhabitants of Nova Scotia itself were still French Acadians (original settlers of the maritime provinces), who remained stubbornly hostile to their English rulers. Thus, the threat to New England from the area was at least as strong as ever, and in Massachusetts, Governor William Shirley began to plan an audacious project—the capture of Louisbourg itself. A force of 4,000 New England volunteers was organised under Sir William Pepperrell.

Fortune seemed to favour the efforts of the Americans. Louisbourg was weakly garrisoned. From the far away West Indies, Commodore Peter Warren offered to escort and support the colonists with three warships. On the other side of the ocean, in Brest, the main French fleet which could have relieved the fort was blockaded by British squadrons. Lastly, as the attackers neared Louisbourg, Warren managed to capture twenty French vessels which were heading for the fortress laden with provisions and ammunition. While attempts at direct assault failed, starvation soon reduced the French garrison to surrender.

The French wasted no time in attempting to retrieve their fortress. However, one major fleet which slipped the British blockade was scattered by gales, while another was destroyed by Warren and Anson. A great naval victory by Hawke, off Rochelle in 1747, ended all French hopes of recapturing Louisbourg by a feat of arms. But in the end it was returned to Louis XV at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which ended the war; conquests by Maurice de Saxe in the Low Countries were useful bargaining counters. For once, the French land strategy had succeeded. Thus, the enterprise of the New Englanders had been largely in vain.

The final conflict.

The opening years

The great world conflict known as the Seven Years War actually began in America some years before the war was formally declared in Europe. In 1753, the advancing French built Fort Duquesne at the great river intersection where the Ohio River begins and where the city of Pittsburgh stands today. Upon learning of this the colony of Virginia, which also claimed the area, despatched a small force commanded by the young George Washington with orders to dispossess the French. Washington was surrounded and forced to capitulate to superior French forces, but the British government decided to support Virginia strongly. A year later, General Edward Braddock, with 3,000 British regulars under his command and with Washington as aide-de-camp, marched westwards to destroy Duquesne. But in the wilderness near the Monongahela River, Braddock led his forces to a signal defeat.

On 9 July a French force, much smaller than Braddock's advance group of 1,500 men, blundered into the British and its commander was killed. Jean Dumas, the French second-in-command, spectacularly reversed what should have been a French defeat. Splitting his men into two groups, and sending them into parallel ravines, he caught the British in a raking cross-fire. Braddock's van reeled back; his rear advanced; the main body of his men was caught in a struggling mêlée into which the French continued to pour their fire. Braddock, as brave but less cunning than a bull, rode about the field shouting, had five horses killed beneath him, and was finally shot down. Two-thirds of his men fell with him. Washington and the remainder hastily retreated back into Virginia.

News from the north was not much better. Admiral Boscawen failed in an attempt to waylay a French fleet bringing reinforcements for Canada, and these fresh troops were soon joined by an exceptionally able commander, the Marquis de Montcalm. Then, in 1756, war broke out on a full scale in Europe, and the British government faced a major political crisis. At last, England's sick genius, William Pitt, was called in to take direction of the deteriorating situation.

The culmination

Pitt's war strategy was simple and direct. He wished to weaken France's position as a great power as much as was possible. But England would generally avoid facing France's large continental armies: that area of action would be left to Britain's powerful ally, Frederick the Great of Prussia, whose military machine would be primed with British money. Instead, Britain would concentrate on using her advantages at sea to the utmost. France's colonial empire was to be destroyed and her overseas commerce ruined. According to Pitt's grand strategy, the French navy would be blockaded in its home ports while British armies would be transported across the ocean to conquer North America. To achieve these ends, Pitt sketched out the campaigns himself. He also chose good men to execute them, removing senior but incompetent officers and promoting promising juniors. Men like Wolfe, Saunders and Amherst performed magnificently in the field but the arm that reached across the ocean was unquestionably Pitt's.

Yet it took another year for matters to begin to improve. In 1756, Montcalm in a daring raid, seized the British fort of Oswego on Lake Ontario; in 1757, he ranged deep into New York, taking Fort William Henry, where many of the British garrison were subsequently massacred by the Indians.

1758, however, saw the materialisation of Pitt's great three-pronged attack. One British wing moved west towards Fort Duquesne, another north-east to besiege Louisbourg, while the centre advanced up

After the Treaty of Paris (1779), France sought revenge against England and allied herself with the United States.

Left and above left: the fleets of the Comte de Grasse, the Comte d'Estaing, and La Motte-Picquet attacking the British ships. (Musée de la Marine, Paris.)

the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River route to attack the very heart of New France. The plan was only partially successful. The dying General Forbes cut his way across the mountains and occupied Duquesne, while Louisbourg eventually capitulated to Amherst and Wolfe after a long siege, but Abercromby's vital push in the centre was a failure. At Fort Ticonderoga, Montcalm, commanding in person, had built a huge redoubt of fallen trees. Abercromby, with a foolishness which approached criminal negligence, sent his Scottish Highlanders to their deaths in direct frontal assaults. After losing 1,500 men, the British withdrew.

Not until 1759, therefore, did the great assault against Quebec take place. In June of that year a huge fleet commanded by Admiral Charles Saunders and conveying 8,500 troops led by the thirty-two-year old James Wolfe, moved up the St Lawrence. The British pilots, among whom was James Cook—later to be known as the greatest navigator of the age, plotted the course with scrupulous care, and at the end of the month, Saunders had reached Quebec without losing a single ship. But Montcalm proved resourceful in defending his great fastness, and Wolfe spent the summer deliberating on the best way to come to grips with him. Finally, as the campaign season was drawing towards its close in September, he selected one of the least likely tactical plans on his list. Sailing down river at night, the British troops secretly landed and scaled the forbidding cliffs by a narrow path which was providentially almost unguarded. Thus, at 6 a.m. on the morning of 13 September both armies faced each other outside the walls of Quebec on the Plains of Abraham, and Wolfe and Montcalm prepared to meet a destiny that would be both historical and personal in its fullest sense. The steady fire of the British regulars won the day over Montcalm's raw militia. Both commanders were killed. Quebec was quickly besieged and fell a few days later.

The great citadel had fallen, but the war was not yet over. Montcalm's second in command, the courageous Chevalier de Lévis, gathered together the still significant French forces in the area and retreated to Montreal. Saunderson's fleet and many of the

English were forced to depart before the St Lawrence froze over. Then, in April of 1760, Lévis, with a mixed force of 7,000 men, reappeared on the Plains of Abraham, challenged and defeated General James Murray's weakened garrison of 3,000. The British retreated inside Quebec and were in their turn besieged by the French. A month later, when the ice melted, a British squadron sailed up the St Lawrence to the relief of the fortress.

Lévis was forced to retreat again to Montreal, but was determined to stay in the field. Perhaps the British, despite their overwhelming force, would make some terrible blunder. Even with Quebec lost, a French army still on its feet and fighting would make a great difference in a peace treaty if the war ended in the meantime. But Amherst, who had captured Niagara and Ticonderoga when Wolfe was taking Quebec, made no blunders. Up the Richelieu River, up the St Lawrence, down river from Lake Ontario—the British forces moved on Montreal from three directions; the city was surrounded. On 6 September 1759 Governor Vaudreuil ordered capitulation. Lévis burned his battalion flags in a last gesture of defiance. French dominion in North America had ended.

The Peace of Paris

With the fighting in continental North America over, and with the command of the sea firmly in their hands, the British now turned with a vengeance to the West Indies. In that area opportunities for conquest had been suddenly increased, for Spain had foolishly and precipitously entered the war on the side of France. In 1759 Guadeloupe was taken, as well as some French slave-trading settlements in West Africa. Martinique, however, successfully resisted a major British attack. But in 1762, two huge amphibious operations were aimed at both Martinique and Cuba. The former fell to Rodney and Monckton in February, the latter to Pocock and Albemarle in August. Finally, after France and Spain had hastily signed a treaty of peace, news came that a British expedition had captured Manila in the far-away Pacific as well.

Thus, the war saw most of Pitt's dreams

realised. The same could not be said for the Peace of Paris, signed in February of 1763. By then Pitt had been driven from power, and negotiations had been carried on by the less imperially minded Earl of Bute. Britain's gains were great, but France's world power had only been weakened and she could still hope for yet another war of revenge. Nevertheless, Britain kept the huge areas of Canada and the eastern Mississippi valley as well as several small West Indian islands. Spain ceded Florida to the English, in order to get Cuba back, and was granted Louisiana as compensation by her French ally. After nearly a century of conflict, Britain was at last supreme in continental North America.

Epilogue

But Europe's disposition of North America, drafted in 1763, would last but for a season. The house that Pitt had built fell apart within twenty years through the spirit of colonial rebels. The great empires of Spain and Portugal similarly crumbled soon afterwards. Nevertheless, the long period of colonial conflict established some enduring realities. The vast areas where Spain, Portugal, France and England planted their progeny have kept, with modifications, the indelible stamp of their parent nations.

The collapse of the colonial empires did not alter these basic factors. However important an event the American Revolution may have been, for instance, more important still was the fact that the largest part of the rich North American continent was going to be inhabited by English-speaking peoples carrying with them their English cultural, political and economic heritage.

The impact on world history created by the development of the American hemisphere has been inestimable. This epic story, still unfinished, began with the European mastery of the oceans, the discovery and settlement of the New World. Conquest, colonisation, slave-trading and imperial rivalry—all called into being new nations and new peoples ready to take their part in the succeeding age of national, industrial and ideological revolutions that has shaped our modern world.



Asia in the seventeenth century

The other side of the Urals; the Russians reach the Pacific; the spice trade in the East Indies—Dutch and English rivalry; the French in Indo-China and the Spanish in the Philippines; the fading glory of the Mogul Empire; the disaffection of the Rajputs; the beginning of the end; the Ming and the Manchus—China's new dynasty; the great emperor; Jesuit hopes and papal intolerance—an opportunity lost; the new society in Japan; Siam and Burma, and Indo-China.

While in India the Mogul Empire reached the summit of its power and then began to decline, in the Far East the Manchu conquerors of China created the largest and most powerful realm that had existed since the time of Mongol supremacy. Japan, under the Tokugawa shoguns, achieved internal peace and enjoyed a century of economic and intellectual development.

In south-east Asia the kingdom of Siam grew in power and resources, while its neighbours and rivals, Burma, Cambodia and Vietnam suffered from internal strife.

The rulers of these countries were strong enough to dictate the terms of such intercourse as they permitted with Europe. Visitors from the West recorded with admiration the magnificence of their capitals and

the myriads of their armies. Nevertheless the seventeenth century saw the foundations

The court of the Moguls was one of extravagant luxury and elaborate ceremonial. The princes, like the one seen above entering Agra, always moved with a retinue of courtiers.

of Western domination established over northern Asia and in the Indian Ocean.

The Russian conquest of Siberia

In 1581 a Cossack adventurer, Yermak, crossed the Ural mountains and captured the town of Sibir, the capital of a local Tartar chieftain, and from this time the whole vast region between the Urals and the Pacific was called Siberia. Although Yermak himself subsequently met his death, the Russians, by 1600, were firmly established in western Siberia, where they founded a settlement at Tobolsk. From here the Russians, few in numbers, but equipped with firearms, pushed rapidly eastwards, subduing the scattered native tribes whom they encountered. They overcame the difficulties of travel by making use of the great rivers, much as did the contemporary French voyageurs in Canada. By 1649 they had reached the Pacific and founded the settlement of Okhotsk. They then turned southwards and by 1651 had explored Lake Baikal and established the town of Irkutsk. Thence they pushed eastward to found Nerchinsk in 1654 and to sail down the Amur River. Here, however, they came into collision with the Manchus and were for the time being checked.

The Cossacks were brave and hardy adventurers, but were fierce and ruthless in their treatment of the natives. These were held down by the building of a chain of *ostrogs*—stockaded trading posts something like the frontier posts of the American West. The lure of Siberia lay in its wealth of fur-bearing animals, and the conquered tribes had to pay a tribute of furs to the Russian government. The illegal exactions of the Russian settlers were much heavier, and they inflicted the most savage penalties upon those who failed to satisfy their demands. In 1637 the tsar established a department of Siberian affairs at Tobolsk in an attempt to enforce order and justice, but many of the local officials were among the worst offenders.

Behind the soldiers and fur traders came peasants, who were mostly exiles seeking to escape from serfdom or political disorder in European Russia. Settlement grew slowly, but by 1700 there were some 250,000 Russians in Siberia and the vast region was becoming an increasingly valuable part of the expanding Muscovite Empire.

Left: the Mogul emperor Aurangzeb, who reigned from 1658 to 1707. Just before he died, in the knowledge that his policy had ended in failure, he said that he accepted his guilt for all the sufferings he had inflicted and for the faults which he had committed, but that he had tried to serve Allah in all that he had done. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

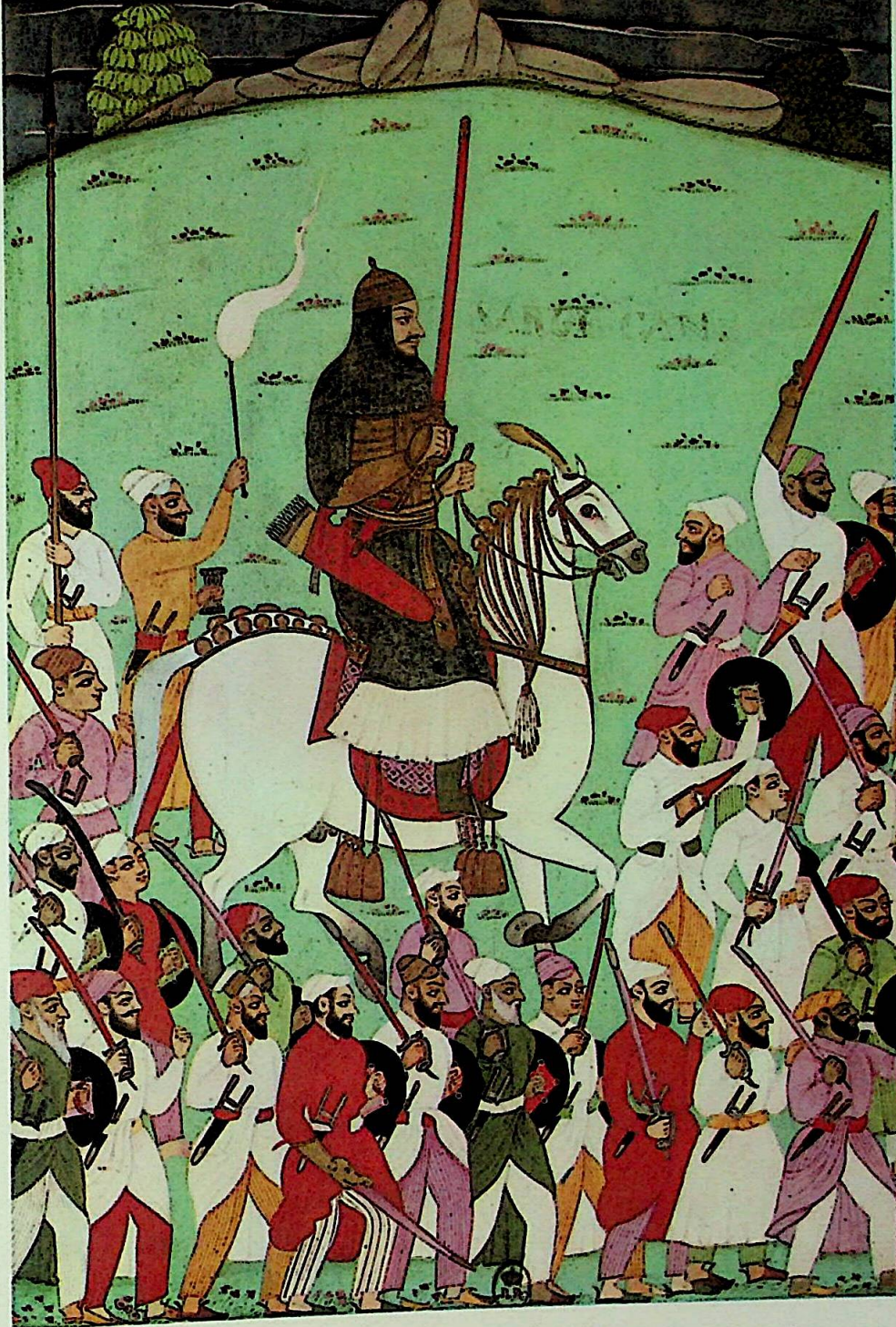


The contest for the spice trade

In the seventeenth century the maritime supremacy of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean was destroyed by the Dutch and the English. The Dutch began direct ventures to the East Indies because they were excluded from the spice trade at Lisbon by Philip II. In 1602 the government of the Netherlands consolidated a number of concerns into a single Dutch East India Company. This company waged war against the Portuguese in Indonesia where they had previously monopolised the spice trade. In 1622 the Dutch founded Batavia (Jakarta) which became their headquarters. Malacca, the chief Portuguese settlement in Malaya, was captured by them in 1641, and they drove the Spaniards from the Moluccas, although they failed to expel them from the Philippines. In China the Dutch were defeated in an attempt to take Macao, though from 1623 to 1662 they held part of Formosa.

The English East India Company, which was organised in 1600, tried to secure a share of the spice trade, but although England and Holland had been allies against the Spaniards, the Dutch would not tolerate English competition in the East Indies. In 1623 they seized the English trading post at Amboina and put to death most of the Englishmen there. The English East India Company could not match the resources of the Dutch one and eventually gave up the contest. By the end of the century the Dutch had reduced the native sultans to vassalage and had firmly established their empire in the East Indies.

In India the English company, despite opposition from the Portuguese and the Dutch, secured trading rights from the Mogul emperor Jahangir. But so long as they had no secure base of their own their position was precarious. In 1639 they secured a grant of land on the Coromandel coast from the local ruler, and there founded Fort St George (Madras). On the west coast the Portuguese held Goa and also the island of Bombay. In 1661 when King Charles II married the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, Bombay was part of her dowry. In 1667 Charles gave it to the East India Company and, under the capable administration of its first governor, Gerald Aungier, it grew from a neglected village into a thriving city, since it was secure from both Mahratta raids and the exactions of Mogul governors. Calcutta, which became the third centre of British trade and influence, was also a place of no importance until Job Charnock, in 1686, established himself there. After a period of hostilities with the Mogul governor of Bengal, East India Company control was finally recognised by the emperor Aurangzeb in 1691. Meanwhile the Dutch drove the Portuguese from Ceylon and wrested trading posts from them in southern India.



The French in Asia

After the Dutch and the English came the French. In 1674 they secured a settlement at Pondicherry, and another at Chandernagore in 1688. The French were active in missionary work and French missionaries went to Burma, Siam, Cambodia and Vietnam. For a time, during the reign of Louis XIV, the French seemed likely to secure political and commercial ascendancy in south-east Asia, especially in Siam, but their activities provoked a reaction which, together with the wars of Louis in Europe, checked the French expansion.

The Spaniards in the Philippines

The conquest of Manila by Legaspi in 1571 established Spanish power in the Philippine islands, but their hold upon the archipelago as a whole remained very limited. Much of

The intolerant religious policy of Aurangzeb made him many enemies, including the Rajputs and the Mahrattas. One of them was Sordikhan Pattany who is here depicted advancing with his army against the Mogul forces. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

the mountainous interior regions remained virtually untouched by them, while in Mindanao and Sulu they were held at bay by the fanatical converts to Islam whom they called Moros. The Philippines were governed by a captain-general, or governor, with subordinate officials. He was responsible to the viceroy of Mexico, since the Spaniards regarded the Philippines as an offshoot of their colonies in Latin America, which in many ways it came to resemble. As in Latin America, Spanish officers who had taken part in the conquest were given large estates, called *encomiendas*, which they ruled as feudal fiefs. The Church also became a



The decline of Mogul power provided an opportunity the Europeans in India were quick to seize. Their greed for gain and their jealousy of each other led to active interference in the country's politics and hastened the end of Mogul dominion. Britain and France were rivals in India as they were in America, and the British empire in India was the result of the struggle.

Jahangir was a competent ruler who continued the policy of toleration towards his non-Muslim subjects which Akbar had begun. His somewhat erratic character was well described by Sir Thomas Roe, who was in India from 1616 to 1619 as the ambassador of King James I. The emperor could be just and generous, but he could also be fiendishly cruel. This uncertainty of temper came partly from his nightly drinking bouts. He was a patron of the arts and was himself something of a painter.

While Jahangir won victories in Bengal and Rajputana, he suffered defeat at the hands of the capable Shah Abbas of Persia, who took Kandahar in 1622. Jahangir attempted to extend the conquests which Akbar had made in the Deccan, but the city of Ahmadnagar, ruled by a capable Abyssinian minister, Malik Ambar, long held out against him. His son, Prince Khurram, won a victory in the Deccan in 1616 and was given the title of Shah Jahan, King of the World, by his grateful father. Later, however, the prince became estranged from his father and from 1623 to 1625 was in actual revolt against him. This was because Shah Jahan had insisted upon marrying the lady of his choice and not the one selected for him by Nur Mahal. The revolt ended in an outward reconciliation between father and son, but in 1626 Mahabat Khan, a prominent general, rebelled against the dominance of Nur Mahal and her brother, and Jahangir was taken prisoner. The empress succeeded in freeing him, but in 1627 the humiliated emperor died.

Shah Jahan

Shah Jahan defeated and executed pretenders to the throne and in 1628 proclaimed himself emperor in Agra. He kept Nur Mahal in strict confinement until her death. Once he had secured his position he maintained the policy of general toleration and was anxious to act justly towards all his subjects. But his reform edicts had little effect in checking the avarice of the provincial governors and lesser officials. Shah Jahan, like his predecessors, tried to prevent civil and military appointments from becoming hereditary and in this way to preserve imperial control over the nobles. But in a huge and loosely knit realm it was difficult to stop them from exercising a large degree of local authority, especially as the

large landowner, and the clergy, especially the friars, exercised great authority.

Chinese junks brought silks and porcelains to Manila which the Spaniards purchased with silver dollars brought from Mexico in the galleons from Acapulco, so that the Mexican dollar became a standard currency in the Far East. The Spaniards were nervous of the large Chinese settlement in Manila and they even massacred some of the Chinese on suspicion of revolt.

The Mogul Empire at its zenith

Upon the death of Akbar in 1605 his son, Salim, succeeded. He took the title of Jahangir, which means Lord of the World. In 1611 he married a Persian lady, on whom he bestowed the title of Nur Mahal, or Light of the Palace. She was an ambitious woman who, with her brother, Asaf Khan, exercised great influence over the emperor.



Elephants were used in war from ancient times in India. This picture (above) shows a battle in the seventeenth century in which cavalry are in flight before a charging elephant. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

emperor, in times of foreign war or succession disputes, was dependent upon their loyalty. Moreover, the conquests and building projects in which Shah Jahan indulged had to be paid for by heavy taxation, so that the splendours of Agra and of New Delhi contrasted with the squalor and misery of the peasantry. From 1630 to 1632 a great famine, in which thousands died, afflicted Gujerat and parts of the Deccan.

Shah Jahan was devoted to his empress, Mumtaz Mahal, the mother of all his children. When she died in 1631 he commissioned Persian and Indian architects and craftsmen to build the magnificent mausoleum at Agra known as the Taj Mahal, or

Jewel of the Palace. Another architectural wonder, constructed in Agra, is the Pearl Mosque. While he thus beautified Agra, Shah Jahan set to work to build a new capital near the old town of Delhi. This he achieved during the ten years from 1638 to 1648, and he called the new city Shahjahanabad, the city of Shah Jahan. The French traveller Bernier, who saw it in 1663, described New Delhi, as it was to become known, as built in the form of a crescent on the right bank of the Jumna River, with walls extending for six or seven miles and a population as great as that of Paris. The main streets, crowded with shops of all kinds, led to the royal square, beyond which was the fortified palace, a building which Bernier considered to be twice as large as any palace in Europe. Here was the great Hall of Audience, where the emperor appeared daily before his nobles and courtiers, all grouped in strict precedence. The emperor, seated on the Peacock Throne, so called from the golden peacock with out-

spread tail made of precious stones which crowned it, heard petitions from his subjects.

In Afghanistan, Shah Jahan fought with the Persian Shah Abbas II, and managed to recapture Kandahar from him in 1637. But in 1648 the Persians surprised and again seized the town, and in the face of the superior Persian artillery the army of Shah Jahan was obliged to retire. Kandahar was abandoned and left in Persian hands. The emperor was equally unfortunate in his attempts to conquer part of Turkestan. He led an army across the Hindu Kush mountains, but this was soon in difficulties in the rugged terrain and harassed by the Uzbek tribesmen. Shah Jahan returned and sent Prince Aurangzebe to continue the struggle. But the prince and his military advisers saw that the country could not be held; they succeeded in getting the army back over the mountains into India, but at the price of heavy losses in men and equipment.

Shah Jahan was more successful in the Deccan. Malik Ambar died in 1626 and his unworthy son betrayed Ahmednagar to the Mogul armies. The city fell in 1633 and was annexed to the Mogul dominions in 1636. Aurangzeb, who was appointed viceroy of the imperial territories in the Deccan, waged war against the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda, and would probably have conquered both kingdoms but for the jealousy of his brother Dara, who prevailed upon Shah Jahan to accept their offers of submission and payment of tribute in 1656.

The Succession War. Aurangzeb

Shah Jahan had four sons—Dara, Shuja, Aurangzeb and Murad. In 1657 the emperor was taken ill and could no longer attend the court audiences. At the time Dara, his eldest and favourite son, whom he wished to be his successor, was in Agra. The other three all held governorships away from the capital. When Shuja and Murad heard that their father was no longer seen in public they declared, and perhaps sincerely believed, that he was dead, but that Dara was concealing this. Each proclaimed himself to be emperor and began to advance upon Agra. Aurangzeb, masking his own ambitions, joined forces with Murad. In May, 1658 Dara was defeated at the battle of Samugarh, near Agra. Aurangzeb took the capital, and proclaimed himself emperor in July 1658. He had his brother Murad condemned on a charge of breaking Islamic law by his drunken habits, and after three years of captivity Murad was executed. In 1659 the fugitive Dara was betrayed into the hands of Aurangzeb, who had him put to death. Shuja, defeated near Allahabad, fled into Bengal and thence to Arakan, where he was murdered. By 1660 Aurangzeb, who styled himself Alamgir, Conqueror of the World, had crushed all opposition to his rule. He kept his father, Shah Jahan, a prisoner until the unfortunate emperor died in 1666.

Aurangzeb was an able general and a skilful diplomat. He was cold and reserved in manner and gained the admiration, rather than the affection, of those who came into contact with him. He was a devout orthodox Muslim who, as far as a Mogul emperor was able, followed the teachings of the Koran and lived a simple and indeed, ascetic, life. He knew the Koran by heart and made copies of it which he sent to Mecca and Medina, since his responsibilities as a ruler forbade his making the pilgrimage himself. Had he contented himself with ordering his private life in this fashion, the change from the profligacy of Jahangir and Shah Jahan might have been beneficial. But he allowed his religious beliefs to shape his policy towards his subjects. He appointed Muslims to office in preference to Hindus

and he revived the *jizya*, or poll-tax upon all who were not Muslims. Since these amounted to some three quarters of the population of the empire, this policy caused widespread disaffection and revolt. It involved Aurangzeb in a long and ultimately unsuccessful war in Rajputana. The fierce warriors of this region, once reconciled to Mogul rule by the conciliatory policy of Akbar, had formed a most valuable part of the imperial army; now many of the Rajput forces became hostile to the Mogul Empire and their defection was a grave source of weakness.

Aurangzeb at war

During the first part of his reign Aurangzeb was mainly concerned with re-establishing the authority of the Mogul Empire in the north of India. In 1662 his army, under the leadership of an able general called Mir Jumla, defeated the Ahoms, who had taken advantage of the civil war in the Mogul Empire to invade Bengal. They were driven out again and Assam itself invaded but the unhealthy climate proved fatal to many of the imperial soldiers including Mir Jumla himself. There were also wars with the Afghan tribesmen, especially the Afridis, who in 1674 inflicted a defeat upon the Mogul forces. These Afghan frontier struggles absorbed many of the best troops of the empire at a time when they were needed elsewhere.

It was the great ambition of Aurangzeb to conquer the Deccan and to bring the whole of India under his sway. He was determined to extinguish the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda, both for political reasons and because their rulers belonged to the Shia sect among the Muslims, which he, as a Sunnite, regarded as heretical. But by the time he was able to turn his full attention to the south, a new enemy had arisen. The Mahrattas were a Hindu people who lived in rugged plateau country overlooking the south-western coast. Here there were many natural hill fortresses from which the Mahratta horsemen could sally out to raid the lowlands and in which they could offer a desperate resistance to an attacker. The Mahrattas were united under a leader called Sivaji who became the terror of much of the Deccan and raided the Mogul territory there. In 1664 he sacked Surat, although he was repulsed from the foreign settlement there by English and Dutch resistance. By the time of his death in 1680 the Mahrattas had become a formidable fighting force.

In 1681 the emperor left his capital to take command in the Deccan, where he was to wage war for the next twenty-five years. He took Bijapur in 1686 and Golconda in the next year. But against the guerrilla tactics of the Mahrattas he could gain no decisive success. The huge Mogul army, which was swollen by hosts of camp-

followers, especially when the emperor was present, could win pitched battles, but could not cope with a swiftly moving enemy who raided its lines of communication and constantly harassed it. In 1689 Aurangzeb succeeded in capturing Sambhaji, the son of Sivaji, and put him to death. But the Mahrattas continued the struggle and the Mogul army suffered heavily in attempts to invade their country and storm their hill fortresses. The aged but indomitable emperor fought on, but his troops became more and more discouraged. Aurangzeb was compelled to admit failure and to retreat to Ahmadnagar, where in March 1707 he died at the age of 89.

The decline of the Mogul Empire

The long reign of Aurangzeb left the Mogul Empire a prey to political disunity, and under his incompetent successors it soon went to pieces. His constant wars had exhausted its military and financial resources. During his long absence in the south the administration of northern India became more and more disorganised, with the provincial governors behaving much as they chose. After his death they were soon able to make themselves independent rulers, while what was left of the empire was overrun by the Mahrattas from the south and the Persians and Afghans from the north. Thus the mistaken religious and political policies of Aurangzeb destroyed the prospect of a united and tolerant empire, embracing all the races and creeds of India, of which Akbar had dreamed.

China. The decay of the Ming Empire

By the opening of the seventeenth century the Ming Empire was steadily weakening. Its resources had been severely strained by the desperate war against the Japanese dictator Hideyoshi, who in 1592 had invaded Korea as a prelude, so he hoped, to the conquest of China. The Ming emperor sent armies to the aid of Korea and succeeded in checking the Japanese invasion. After the death of Hideyoshi in 1598 the Japanese gave up their ambitions on the continent and made peace. But the cost in men and money to the Ming was very heavy, while Korea was devastated and consequently in no condition to fulfil its function of co-operating with Peking against any danger from tribal revolt in Manchuria.

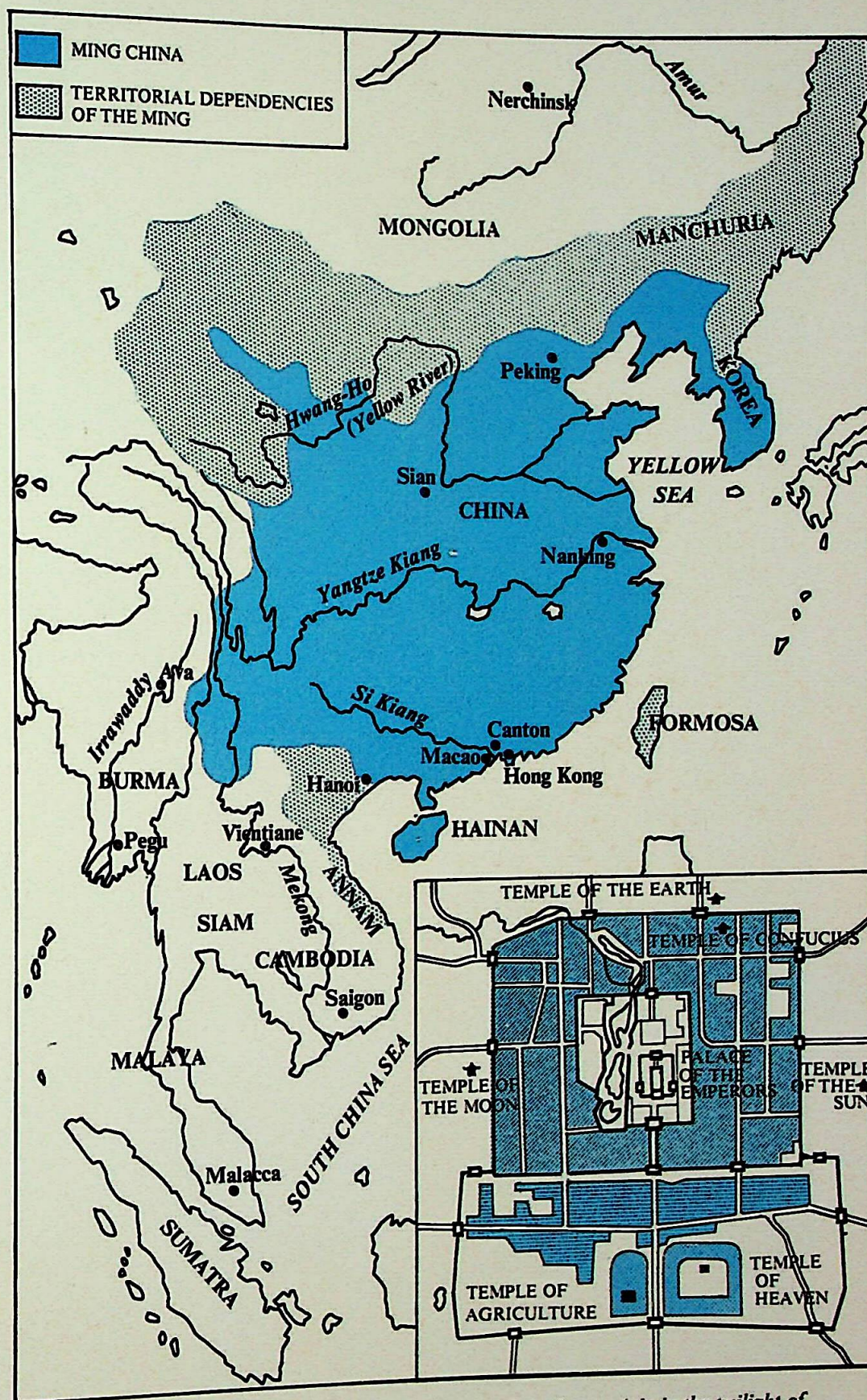
The empire might nevertheless have recovered had not the emperors been mostly effeminate weaklings who were very much the puppets of ambitious eunuch ministers. These secured undue political influence by leading the rulers into vicious courses and so making themselves the arbiters of policy. They were greedy for power and wealth and

no one could obtain office or any other imperial favour except by paying heavy bribes. Those who bought appointments in this manner endeavoured to recoup themselves by extortion from the people they governed, which fostered discontent and eventual rebellion. Officials who protested against these evils were deprived of their posts, exiled and sometimes executed.

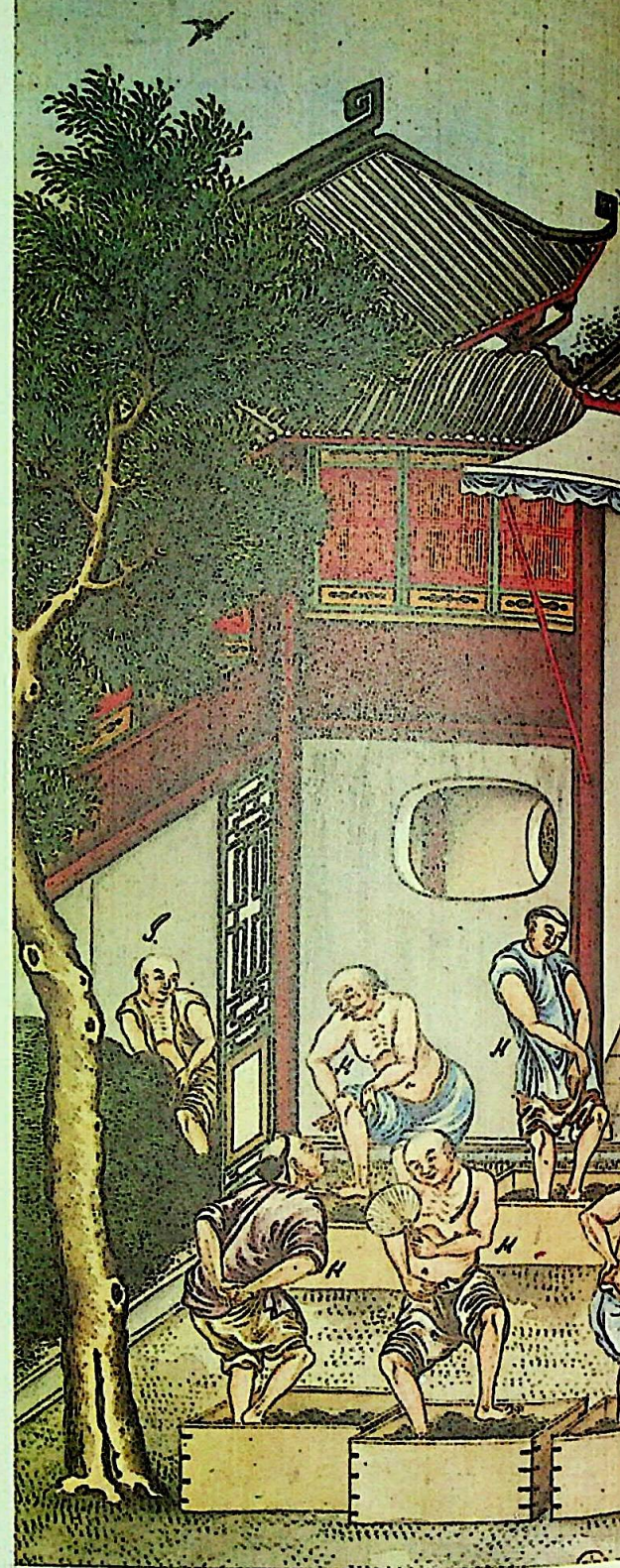
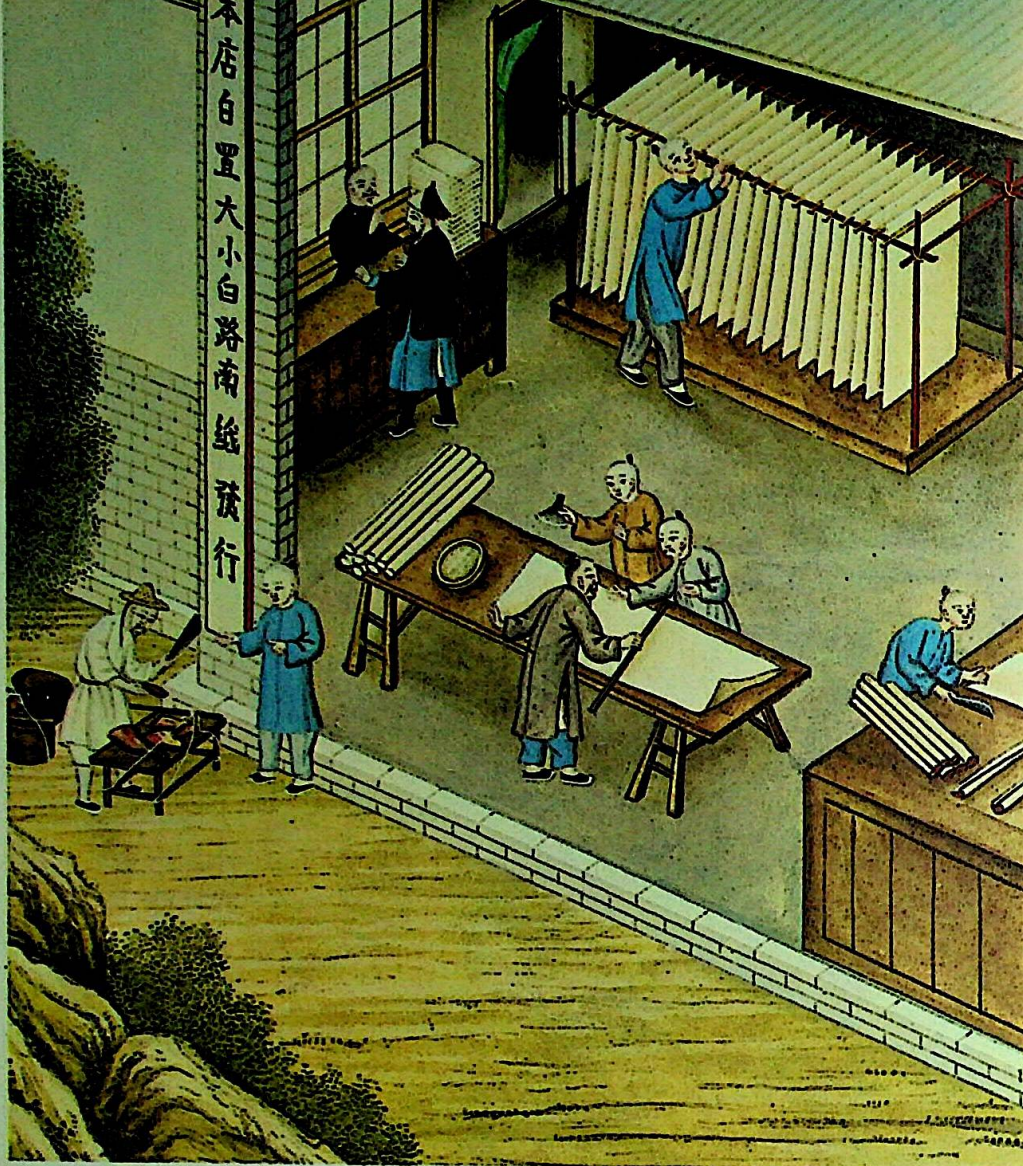
The rise of the Manchus

The country north-east of the Great Wall which was to become known as Manchuria, consisted first of all of a southern part which had long been settled by Chinese, although it was still rather a colonial area. The plateau and steppe region to the north-west was the home of nomad Mongol tribes, while the mountain and forest region in the north-east was inhabited by Tungus tribes, of whom the Manchus were one group. Their chiefs were given high-sounding titles by the Ming and so encouraged to remain faithful tributaries. One such was Nurhachi, who was born in or about 1559. He proved to be a leader of genius, who built up his power in a long series of successful campaigns until he had gained control over many of the tribes, and in 1616 assumed the royal style. The Ming court, alarmed at the growth of his power, sent aid to his enemies. Nurhachi in reply invaded the Chinese-settled area of Manchuria. His army, divided into divisions or banners, defeated the Ming forces, took Mukden and overran most of Manchuria. Many of the Chinese there, sickened by Ming misrule, readily joined them. These were also organised in banners, there being ultimately eight Manchu and eight Chinese banners.

The Ming forces, aided by cannon made under the supervision of the Jesuits, managed to check the Manchu advance upon Peking by way of the Shanhaikuan pass. Nurhachi died in 1626 and his son endeavoured to outflank the Chinese defences by overrunning western Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. Some of the Mongol tribes were defeated while others allied themselves with the Manchu ruler, and in 1635 they gave him the state seal of the former Mongul emperors, thus recognising him as the rightful inheritor of the empire of Genghis Khan. The Manchu ruler now assumed the dynastic title of Ch'ing or Pure, which signified his intention to overthrow the Ming in China itself.

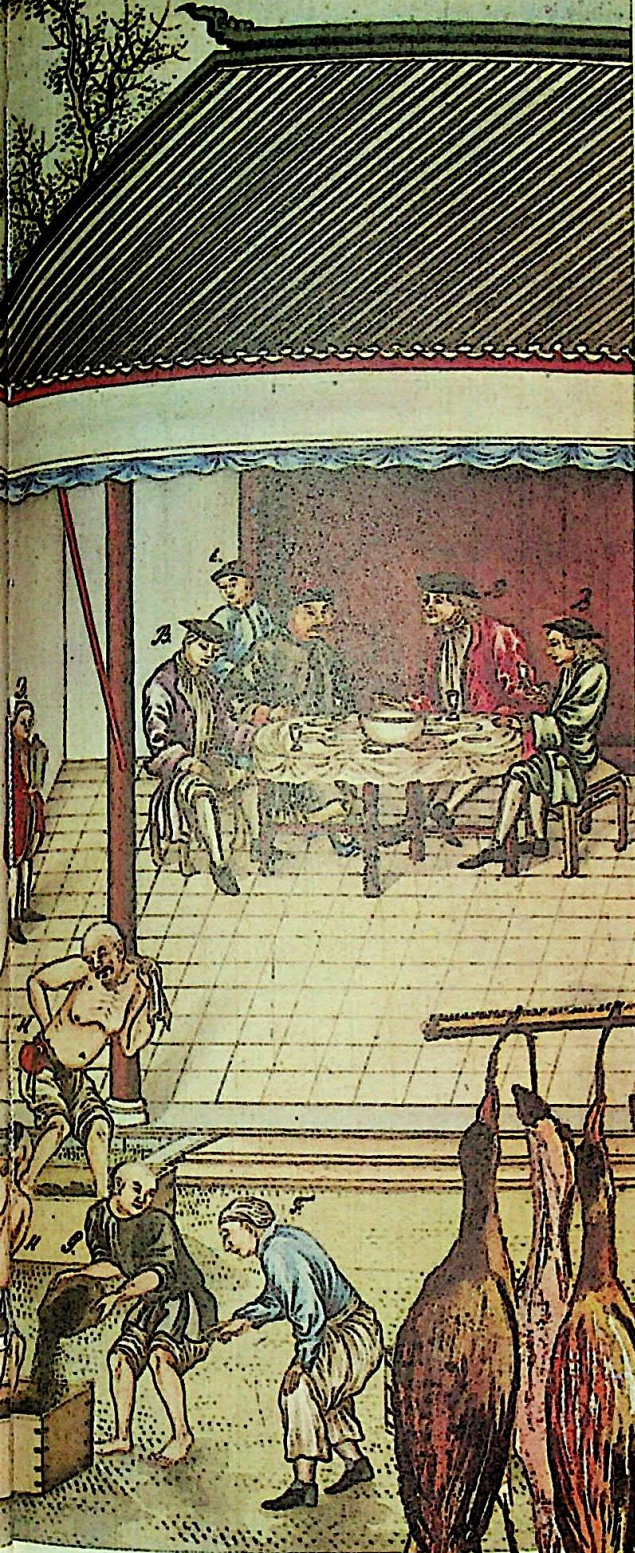


China and south-east Asia in the twilight of the Ming dynasty. The Manchus, destined to be the last rulers of imperial China, captured Peking in 1644 and brought fresh life and vigour to the decaying empire as the Ch'ing dynasty. They gave China one of her greatest emperors, K'ang Hsi. The inset shows the Inner, or Tartar, city of Peking, which was built by Kublai Khan in the thirteenth century.



A Manchu noble, mounted on a mule, ascends a mountain road, accompanied by his baggage carriers. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)
Top left: a paper-manufacturing shop.

*Below left: coolies trampling tea into boxes while the foreign purchasers bargain with the tea merchant about the price. Canton became a great centre of tea export.
Below: a seller of pheasants, probably in Peking. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)*





The fall of Peking and the conquest of China

To meet the cost of the war against the Manchus the government greatly increased the land tax and other levies. This deepened the disaffection among the landowning class, while the peasantry were afflicted by drought and famine especially in north China. Among the consequent leaders of rebellion a Shensi peasant, Li Tzu-cheng, became pre-eminent. The imperial forces sent against him were defeated or else went over to him and in 1643 he took Sian, the capital of Shensi. In 1644 he advanced on Peking which he captured and sacked. The Ming emperor committed suicide and Li proclaimed himself emperor. But the best forces the Ming still possessed were under the command of general Wu San-kuei, who was guarding the Great Wall. He elected to side with the Manchus, rather than with the ex-brigand Li, and made an agreement with the Manchu Prince Dorgun who was acting as regent for the infant grandson of

Nurhachi. Consequently, Li was defeated and the Manchus entered Peking.

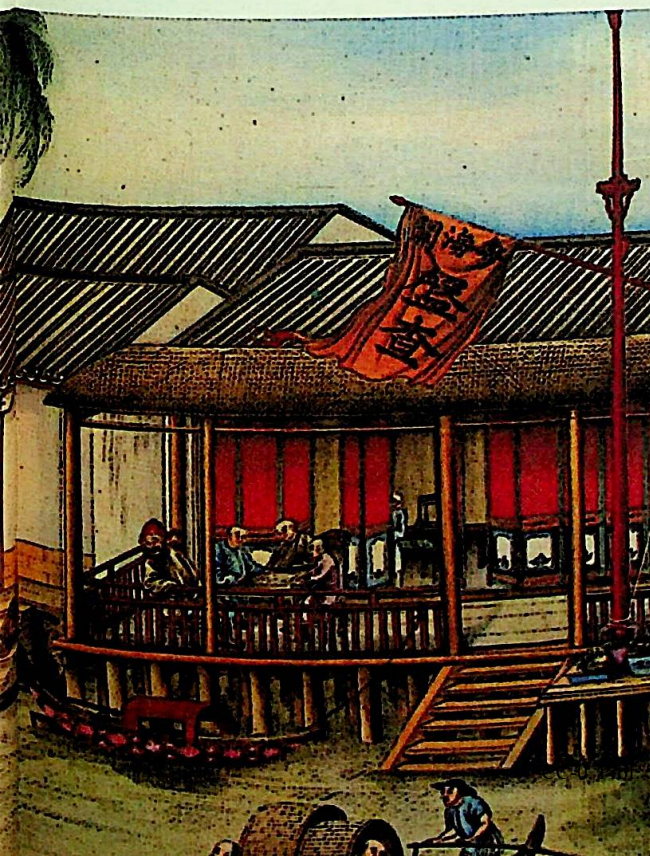
After the fall of the capital a relative of the deceased Ming emperor was set up in Nanking, but he was soon defeated and killed by the Manchus and their Chinese allies. Another prince of the Ming house held out, first at Canton and later in the extreme west of China. He was aided by the pirate leader, Cheng Cheng-kung, who for a while held much of the south coast. The Ming claimant to the throne in gratitude gave him a title of honour, which Europeans rendered as Koxinga. After he could no longer hold out on the mainland Koxinga, in 1661, established himself in Formosa, from which he expelled the Dutch. He and his son continued to wage war against the Manchus at sea. The conquest of southern and western China was accomplished by Wu Sankuei and other Chinese generals who had joined the Manchus. After years of fighting the last Ming forces were driven into Burma; but for a while much of the south and west of China was under the

almost independent rule of Wu San-kuei.

Manchu rule was consolidated by K'ang Hsi who ruled from 1661 to 1722. He endeavoured to limit the power of Wu San-kuei, and this provoked the general to revolt in 1674. But he died in 1678 and the rebels were defeated and lost their semi-independent fiefs. In 1683 K'ang Hsi conquered Formosa and put an end to the pirate empire founded by Koxinga. In Turkestan K'ang Hsi had to wage war against Galdan, a chieftain who aspired to bring all the peoples of that region

Scenes from life in seventeenth-century China.

Above left: a troupe of entertainers giving a performance at the approach to a bridge. Right: houses built on piles over rivers and lakes were frequent in south China. They were usually restaurants and places of entertainment, like the one depicted here. Note the sampan in the foreground.



under his control. It proved to be a long campaign, but the emperor was eventually victorious.

K'ang Hsi and the Russians

In the middle of the century the Cossacks began to penetrate the Amur valley and to establish fortified settlements there, the chief of which was at Albazin. The Manchus were for some time too heavily engaged in China to be able to cope with this new menace, but as soon as his hands were free the resolute K'ang Hsi sent an army which took and destroyed Albazin. But he did not want the tsar to give support to Galdan, nor did the Russians desire to see any dangerous power arise in Turkestan or Mongolia; peace negotiations were therefore opened, in which the Jesuit fathers played an important part as interpreters and intermediaries. The result was the Treaty of Nerchinsk, concluded in 1689. This defined the frontier between Russian Siberia and the Manchu Empire as running well north of the Amur, and excluded the Russians from the use of the waterway in the future. The treaty also provided for limited trade; the Russians exported furs to China and received brick tea in return.

The Jesuits in China

In 1601 the Jesuit father, Matteo Ricci, secured permission to reside and to preach in Peking. He and his successors, of whom the most outstanding were Schall and Verbiest, won the respect of the Chinese through their knowledge of mathematics, astronomy and medicine, while they for their part appreciated Chinese scholarship and did much to spread a knowledge of Chinese civilisation in Europe. Under the Manchus they were occasionally persecuted but in 1692 K'ang Hsi issued an edict giving Catholic missionaries freedom to preach and to build churches. Then a quarrel arose between the Jesuits on the one hand and the Dominicans and Franciscans on the other. The Jesuits held that the state honours paid to the memory of Confucius and the performance of ancestral rites by Chinese in general were simply ceremonies of remembrance and respect and not incompatible with Christianity. The other Catholic orders said that these rites were idolatrous and that a Chinese could not be received into the Christian faith unless he abandoned them. K'ang Hsi accepted the view of the Jesuits but their opponents appealed to the pope—who decided against the Jesuits. This annoyed K'ang Hsi who withdrew his favour from the missionaries, although they were not severely persecuted until after his death.

The character of Manchu rule

The Manchus, who were willing to absorb Chinese civilisation but whose language was quite unlike Chinese (the alphabet came from that of the Mongols), formed a pre-eminent caste in China. They were forbidden to intermarry with Chinese and they imposed upon their Chinese subjects the Manchu hair-style of the queue or pigtail. They endeavoured to preserve Manchuria from further Chinese infiltration by forbidding Chinese to emigrate there, and by putting the region under Manchu military governors. But in China itself they retained the civilian administration which they had found, although Manchus filled the majority of the higher posts in the central government and there were Manchu military garrisons in all important cities. K'ang Hsi, however, endeavoured to conciliate the Confucianist scholar-gentry, without whose support China could not be successfully governed. They for the most part were willing to co-operate so as to avoid any recurrence of the thirty years of civil strife.

K'ang Hsi also re-established the tributary relationship which had existed between the Ming empire and the kingdoms of Korea and of south-east Asia. Korea, indeed, which sided with the Ming, was conquered by the Manchus in 1637-8 and for a while treated harshly. But when Manchu rule had been securely established in China, the Manchu forces were withdrawn from Korea and its king left in freedom to govern his own country, subject to sending an annual tribute mission to Peking. Annam, Siam and Burma were not invaded but persuaded to enter into a similar relationship with the Manchu emperors.

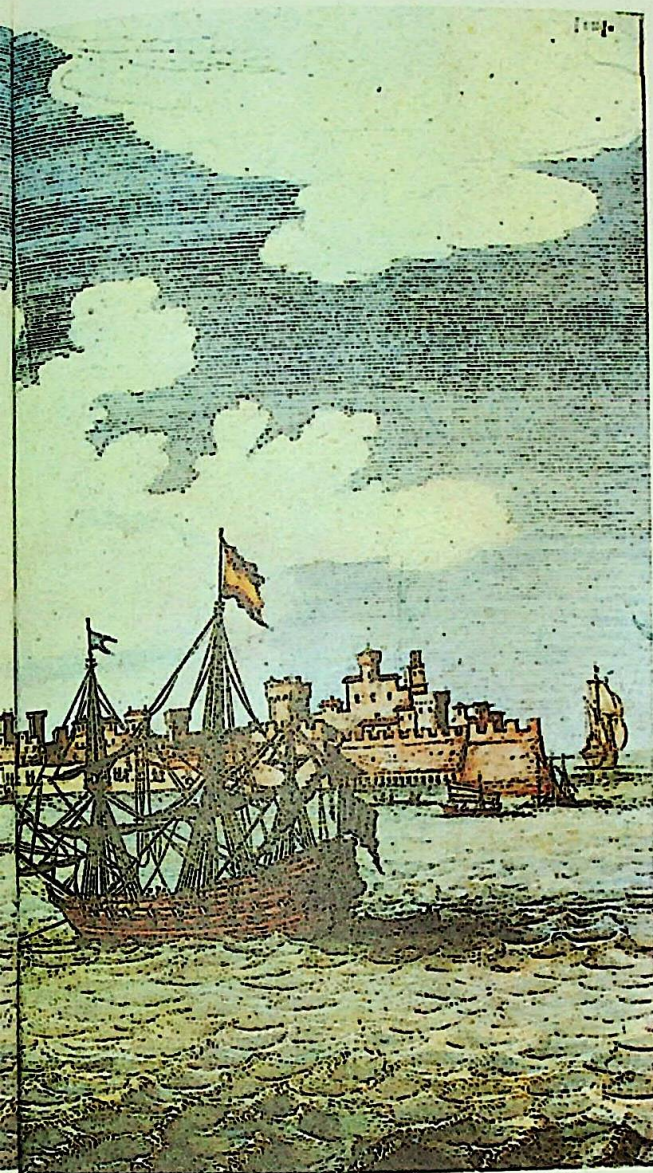
Japan. The Tokugawa shogunate

Hideyoshi left an infant son, Hideyori, for whom he had created a council of regents from his principal supporters. Outstanding among these was Tokugawa Ieyasu, who held most of the Kanto region, the largest plain in Japan. He had made his headquarters in Edo (the modern Tokyo) which hitherto had been a place of little importance. The regents soon quarrelled and in the civil war which resulted Ieyasu was victorious; in the great battle of Sekigahara in October 1600 he became the real master of Japan. He could claim a distant relationship with the Minamoto family, who had been shoguns in the twelfth century, so in 1602 he secured the title of shogun from the emperor and thus founded the Tokugawa shogunate which was to endure until 1867. Osaka Castle, which was held by Hideyori and his supporters, was taken in 1614-15 and Hideyori perished.

The Tokugawa family and its immediate vassals owned some forty per cent of the

MAKOU





Left: Father Adam Schall, 1591–1666. He was a German Jesuit who first came to China in 1622. He won the favour of the Ming court by his skill in astronomy, which was greater than that of the Chinese astronomers. Schall was made director of the Board of Astronomy. After the Manchu conquest, the prince regent, Dorgun, confirmed Schall in this position, as also did the emperor Shun-chih when he came of age. But during the minority of K'ang Hsi, an anti-Christian official accused Schall of heresy and treason and he was condemned to death by the Council of State in 1664. He was reprieved the next year but died shortly afterwards.

Centre, above: Macao. In 1557 the Portuguese were allowed to establish a trading post here, situated on the peninsula south of Canton. Macao soon became the centre of Portuguese trade in the China seas, although the Chinese did not agree that it was Portuguese territory until the nineteenth century.

landed estates in Japan and were far stronger than any other *daimyo* (feudal lord). The other *daimyo* were divided into two classes, the *fudai*, or inner lords, who had been on the side of Ieyasu from the first, and the *tozama*, or outer lords, who had been compelled to submit to him after his victory. Under Ieyasu and his immediate successors the feudal fiefs were rearranged so that the possessions of the *tozama* were separated from one another by *fudai* holdings, so as to make it difficult for any hostile coalition to be organised. Moreover, by the *sankin kotai*, or hostage system, each feudal lord had to spend six months out of each year in Edo and to leave members of his family there when he returned to his domain. While the shogun drew his revenues from his own estates and did not impose any regular system of taxation upon the feudal lords, they had to contribute to public works and to maintain expensive mansions in Edo. The emperor, as the reputed descendant of the Sun Goddess, was treated with respect and was given a moderate allowance to maintain himself and his court at Kyoto, but a Tokugawa official was stationed there to prevent any intrigues between the court nobility and the *daimyo*.

The persecution of the Christians and the Seclusion Edicts

By the beginning of the seventeenth century Catholic missionaries had made some 250,000 converts, chiefly in the southern island of Kyushu. Hideyoshi, however, had initiated a persecution and this was intensified under the Tokugawa. Iemitsu, the third shogun, suspected that the missionaries and their converts might become the spearhead of a Spanish or Portuguese invasion, or help the *tozama daimyo* in Kyushu to revolt. The influential Buddhist priests were alienated by the intolerance of the Spanish Dominicans and Franciscans, who had entered Japan after the Spanish conquest of the Philippines in 1571, and who were less politic than the Jesuits. The Buddhists lost no opportunity to deepen the suspicions of the shogun, as also, after their arrival, did the Dutch and the English. Therefore Iemitsu intensified the persecution which drove the Japanese Christians to a despairing revolt at Shimabara in 1638. When that was crushed Christianity was virtually stamped out in Japan, although it contrived to linger on in a concealed form in a few villages around Nagasaki.

Ieyasu distinguished between missionaries and traders. He welcomed the Dutch and the English, who came to Japan at the opening of the century. Will Adams, the English pilot of a Dutch ship, won his especial favour, supervised the building of ships for him, and remained in Japan until

his death. The Dutch and English traded chiefly at Hirado, but the English East India Company found the trade unprofitable and voluntarily withdrew in 1623. In 1639 Iemitsu decreed the exclusion of all foreigners from Japan, except the Dutch, who were confined to the little island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbour and subjected to careful restrictions. The Dutch East India Company submitted to this because of the profit they made in copper exports from Japan. The Chinese were also allowed to continue trading at Nagasaki, and in addition there was some commercial intercourse with Korea. Iemitsu prohibited Japanese from going abroad and forbade the construction of ocean-going vessels. Consequently the growth of Japanese maritime enterprise in south-eastern Asia was brought to a halt.

Economic and social changes. Literature and art

In Japan the two-sworded *samurai* formed a privileged military caste. They alone could bear arms and, while there were gradations among them, even an ordinary warrior could cut down a commoner who did not behave towards him in the prescribed humble and respectful fashion. The other classes were the peasants, the craftsmen and the traders, in that order of merit. The Tokugawa shoguns tried to preserve these rigid class divisions. But the use of money as a medium of exchange resulted in an increase in the influence of the despised merchants and traders. The feudal nobility had to employ merchants to sell their rice for them and so there grew up a class of brokers who sold the rice in the markets of Osaka and Edo and reaped a handsome profit. Others administered the gold and copper mines, the well-known Mitsui family being among those who founded its fortunes in this way. Moreover, a rise in the cost of living added to the administrative expenses both of the shoguns and of the *daimyo* in their fiefs. The shoguns tried to meet the situation by debasing the coinage, which only made matters worse. The result was that the feudal nobility in general became indebted to the merchants, who lent them money on the security of their revenues. Thus by the end of the century economic and social developments were slowly but surely undermining the whole feudal structure.

The rise of the merchants and traders was attended by a good deal of vulgarity and ostentation, which official exhortations to frugality did little to check. In Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto the prosperous merchants and traders patronised the pleasure quarters. New forms of drama emerged, the *kabuki* and the *bunraki* or puppet play. The outstanding producer of plays for the *bunraki* drama was Chikamatsu Monzaemon, who lived from 1653 to 1724.

Along with the popular play went the popular novel, with its themes of love and tragedy. The most prominent novelist of the period was Ihara Saikaku, who lived from 1642 to 1693. The seventeenth century also saw the beginnings of the coloured woodblock print, although this form was not fully developed until a later era.

South-east Asia. The growth of Siam

In the late sixteenth century Siam was conquered by the Burmese ruler Bayinnaung. But after his death in 1581 revolt in Burma against his son gave the Siamese prince, Pra Naret, the opportunity to reassert Siamese independence. In 1587 he defeated a Burmese attempt to take Ayuthia, the Siamese capital, and he also repelled a Cambodian invasion. In 1590 he became King Narasuen and inflicted further defeats

upon the Burmese and Cambodians. The latter were for the time being crushed, and the former lost the provinces of Tavoy and Tennasserim. Narasuen, who is one of the great heroes of Siamese history, died in 1605. His immediate successors were less warlike and the Burmese were able to regain some of the territory they had lost.

The Siamese kings were ready to welcome foreign traders. They had already established relations with the Portuguese and the Spaniards and at the beginning of the century they admitted Japanese traders. A number of Japanese, some of them exiled Christian converts, were enlisted as mercenaries in the royal guard and for a time, under their leader, Yamada Nagamasa, played an important part in Siamese politics. The Dutch were allowed to establish trading posts at Patani in 1602 and Ayuthia in 1608. In 1609 the first Siamese embassy

to visit Europe was received at The Hague. The English East India Company was given trading rights in Ayuthia in 1612, but found it difficult to compete with the Dutch and in 1622 withdrew from Siam for some years. During the reign of King Prasat T'ong, from 1630 to 1656, the Japanese, who had conspired against him, were driven out. These events left the Dutch in a position to monopolise the foreign trade, and this the Siamese naturally resented.

In 1657 King Narai came to the throne. As a curb to the aggressive Dutch, he welcomed the resumption of trade by the English in 1661, and he also showed favour to French Catholic missionaries, who in consequence mistakenly believed that he might be converted; in fact his real object was political. In 1675 a Greek called Constant Phaulkon, who had entered Siam in the service of the English East India

ASIA IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

India	China	Japan	South-east Asia	The Russians in Asia
1500			Conquest of Manila by Spaniards (1571)	Cossacks cross the Urals (1581)
			Accession of Narasuen of Siam (1590)	
1600		Battle of Sekigahara. Ieyasu master of Japan (1600)		Russians established in western Siberia (1600)
	Matteo Ricci in Peking (1601)	Tokugawa Shogunate (1602)	Establishment of Dutch East India Company (1602)	
Death of Akbar. Accession of Jahangir (1605)			Siamese embassy to Holland. First in Europe (1609)	
Persian victory at Kandahar (1622)	Nurhachi in control of Manchuria (1616)		Founding of Batavia (1622)	
Death of Jahangir. Accession of Shah Jahan (1627)	Death of Nurhachi (1626)		New Burmese capital at Ava (1629)	
Famine in India (1630)				
Building of Taj Mahal begins (1631)				
Kandahar regained from Persians (1637)	Manchus assume dynastic title of Ch'ing (1635)			Establishment of department of Siberian affairs (1637)

Company, rose to be superintendent of foreign trade and became very influential with the king. As the result of a quarrel with the agents of the English Company Phaulkon used his influence to promote French interests. A French embassy arrived in Ayuthia in 1685 and the Siamese sent representatives to Versailles in 1686. Meanwhile, Phaulkon had been converted by the Jesuits and he promoted an arrangement whereby French troops were to be stationed in Mergui and Bangkok, ostensibly for protection against the Dutch. The troops arrived in 1687, but a section of the Siamese nobility, headed by a general called Pra P'etraja, saw in this a menace to Siamese independence. In 1688 King Narai was taken ill and Pra P'etraja became regent. He immediately seized and executed Phaulkon. Then King Narai died and the regent succeeded him. Pra P'etraja then turned on the French: a number of them were killed and others had to leave the country. The result of this episode was that the Siamese

became less liberal towards foreigners. The trade privileges of the Dutch were curtailed and the English again withdrew from Siam.

Disunity in Burma

Upper and Lower Burma were reunited by King Anaukpetlun, but after his death in 1629 his successor Thalun, who removed the capital from Pegu to Ava, was faced with fresh revolts by the Mon people of the Irrawaddy delta region. He was a capable administrator, but his son Pindale, who ruled from 1648 to 1661, was incompetent. In addition to more trouble with the Mons and the Siamese, Pindale became involved in difficulties with China. In 1658 Yung Li, the last Ming emperor, was driven out of Yunnan into Burma. He was imprisoned and his followers then pillaged parts of Upper Burma. Pindale was deposed in 1661 and his brother, Pye, who succeeded him, had to placate the Manchus by surrendering Yung Li to them.

His defeated soldiers then dispersed. For the remainder of the century Burma was at peace, but its rulers were weaklings dominated by their ministers.

Division in Annam

The kingdom of Annam—the modern Vietnam—still remained under the nominal rule of the descendants of Le Loi, the national hero who in the fifteenth century had freed his country from Chinese rule. But in fact power had fallen into the hands of feudal noble families, among whom the chief contenders were the Trinh and the Nguyen. The Trinh held Hanoi and the Red River valley, the Nguyen dominated southern Annam. From 1620 to 1674 civil war raged between the two families. The Nguyen, who received some help from the Portuguese at Macao, were able to hold their own and in 1674 a peace was made which left the Nguyen as rulers of southern Annam. For the sake of trade the Nguyen

India	China	Japan	South-east Asia	The Russians in Asia
		Christian revolt, Shimabara (1638)		
	Li Tzu-cheng sacks Peking. Last Ming emperor commits suicide (1644)			
Kandahar abandoned to Persians (1648)				Russians reach the Pacific (1649) Nerchinsk founded (1654)
			King Narai of Siam. New contacts with Europe (1657)	
Aurangzeb seizes throne (1660)	K'ang Hsi becomes emperor (1661)		Constant Phaulkon becomes superintendent of Siam's foreign trade (1675) Execution of Phaulkon. Siamese self-isolation (1688)	
Mahratta wars (1681)				Frontier between China and Russia defined (1689)
	Treaty of Nerchinsk with Russia (1689) Catholic missionaries given permission to preach by K'ang Hsi (1692)			
1700				
Death of Aurangzeb (1707)				



Above: a hunting scene in seventeenth-century Japan. Mount Fuji is shown in the background.

Left: a samurai and his companions in a street of Edo. The rich dress and the sword hilt

show membership of the privileged warrior class. (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.)

tolerated Catholic missionaries, although there were occasional severe persecutions. It was the missionaries who invented a romanisation of the written Vietnamese language, which is still in use.

The Nguyen rulers, especially after they had made peace with the Trinh, expanded their territory southwards at the expense of the Cambodian kingdom, weakened by wars with the Siamese and by internal strife. Consequently by the end of the century it had lost most of the country around Saigon to the Vietnamese.

Laos

The remote and mountainous region of Laos, which had fallen under Burmese control in the sixteenth century, regained its independence in 1591. From 1637 until 1694 it was ruled by King Souligna-Vongsa, with his capital at Vientiane. In 1641 the first European made his appearance, a Dutchman named van Wuysthof. He came on a trading mission, but because of the difficulties of communication nothing came of it. In 1642 Father Leria, an Italian Jesuit, came to Vientiane and remained for five years, but the opposition of the Buddhists prevented him from opening a mission. After his departure Laos remained untouched by European influence until the nineteenth century. After the death of Souligna-Vongsa succession disputes broke out and at the beginning of the eighteenth century Laos became divided into the kingdoms of Vientiane and Luang Prabang.

Further Reading List

The historical literature relating to the periods and places covered in this book is, of course, voluminous. Therefore, in the very short list below I have included only works in English and only those which can be obtained without too much difficulty by the general reader.

For the Spanish Empire after the conquest, the best general survey is J. H. Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*, (1966). Also useful are Hubert Herring, *A History of Latin America*, (1961 ed.), and C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*, (1947). To put Spanish America properly within the context of all the Spanish dominions, see J. H. Elliott, *Imperial Spain 1469-1716*, (1963). L. B. Simpson, *The Encomiendas in New Spain*, (1950), deals with a vital institution, while a vivid impression of the cultural life in the Spanish provinces is given in Roderick Cameron, *Viceroyalties of the West*, (1968). The impact of Spaniard upon Indian is dealt with in C. Gibson, *The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule*, (1964), while Lewis Hanke in *Aristotle and the Indians*, (1959), shows the cleavage in Spanish thinking on the subject. The lives of the two most notable early Viceroy are related in: A. F. Zimmerman, *Francisco de Toledo*, (1938), and A. S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza*, (1938). For early Brazil, see J. P. Calogéras, *A History of Brazil*, (trans. and ed. by P. A. Martin, 1939), and C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil 1624-1654*, (1957).

For North America in the seventeenth century, J. B. Brebner tells the story of the early explorers in *The Explorers of North America 1492-1806*, (1933). Regarding early English colonisation and the structure of empire which grew out of it, see: C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, 4 vols., (1964 ed.), G. L. Beer, *The Origins of the British Colonial System*, (1908) and *The Old Colonial System*, 2 vols., (1922), as well as L. A. Harper, *The English Navigation Laws*, (1939). Volume III of C. M. Andrews, above, also has two chapters dealing with New Netherlands, and C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire*, (1965), should be read for Dutch colonisation in general. For French North America, Francis Parkman's massive *France and England in North America*, 9 vols., (1865-92), remains a classic of historical narrative, but for accuracy, the reader should turn to more modern works such as W. J. Eccles, *Frontenac*, (1959), *Canada Under Louis XIV*, (1964), and Morris Bishop, *Champlain, the Life of Fortitude*, (1948). H. I. Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada*, (1962 ed.), covers the most important institution of New France, while for the predominant economic theory generally, see Eli Heckscher, *Mercantilism*, 2 vols., (trans. by M. Shapiro, 1934). For those mercantilist colonies *par excellence*, the West Indies, see J. H. Parry and P. M. Sherlock, *A Short History of the West Indies*, (1957), and A. P. Newton, *The European Nations in the West Indies 1493-1688*, (1938).

The historical literature for England in the eighteenth century is so immense that any attempt at selection is rather futile. Moreover, some of the most important works, such as those by Sir Lewis Namier and others following his methods, are perhaps more for the specialist than the general reader. The best introductions to the period remain the relevant volumes of the *Pelican History of England* and the more detailed *Oxford History of England* series. See also David Ogg, *England in the Reigns of James II and William III*, (1955), and G. M. Trevelyan, *England Under Queen Anne*, 3 vols., (1934). For the extremely important economic transformation of the era, see the first part of E. J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, (1968), and T. S. Ashton, *An Economic History of England, The Eighteenth Century*, (1955). Some important biographies are: Winston Churchill, *Marlborough*, 4 vols., (1933-38), Basil Williams, *Stanhope*, (1932), J. H. Plumb's life of Walpole, *The Making of a Statesman*,

(1956) and *The King's Minister*, (1960). O. A. Sherrard, *Lord Chatham*, 3 vols., (1955), and J. H. Rose, *William Pitt*, 2 vols., (1911).

Works in English on eighteenth-century France prior to the Revolution are not abundant, but an excellent survey of the period is provided by Alfred Cobban, *A History of Modern France*, vol. I, (1967 ed.). Less important but interesting are: F. Funck-Brentano, *The Old Regime in France*, (1929), and P. Gaxotte, *Louis the Fifteenth and his Times*, (1934). A. M. Wilson, *French Foreign Policy during the Administration of Cardinal Fleury*, (1936), and G. J. Mathews, *Royal General Farmers in Eighteenth-Century France*, (1958) are important analyses of narrower fields. H. M. Hyde's *John Law*, (1948), and Nancy Mitford's *Madame de Pompadour*, (1954), deal with two of the period's most fascinating characters. D. Dakin, *Turgot and the Ancien Régime in France*, (1939), centres on a slightly later time, but has much that is relevant to the era of Louis XV.

Most of the books already mentioned with regard to Latin America are important for the eighteenth century as well as for the earlier period. In addition see: J. Lynch, *Spanish Colonial Administration 1782-1810*, B. Moses, *Spain's Declining Power in South America 1730-1806*, (1919), and R. D. Hussey, *The Caracas Company 1728-1784*, (1934). For Brazil, see C. R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil 1695-1750*, (1957), and *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825*, (1963). H. W. Richmond, *The Navy in the War of 1739-1748*, 3 vols., (1920), tells the sorry story of Britain's failure at conquest.

For surveys of India in the eighteenth century, see P. Spear, *A History of India*, vol. 2, (Pelican, 1965). E. Thompson and G. T. Garratt, *Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, (1934), P. E. Roberts, *History of British India*, (1952 ed.), and two books by K. M. Pannikar, *Survey of Indian History*, (1960), and *Asia Under Western Dominance*, (1953). Glyndwr Williams, *The Expansion of Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, (1966), deals with the colonial conflicts of the time on a world-wide basis. The growth and climax of the Anglo-French rivalry in India is brilliantly depicted in H. H. Dodwell, *Dupleix and Clive*, (1920). Other studies of Britain's great empire-builders are: A. M. Davies, *Clive of India* (1939). Keith Feiling, *Warren Hastings*, (1954), and E. P. Moon, *Warren Hastings and British India*, (1947), while A. C. Roy in *Mir Jafar*, (1953) treats a major Indian protagonist.

To look at eighteenth-century Africa on a regional basis see the relevant sections of: E. A. Walker, *A History of Southern Africa*, (1957 ed.), J. D. Fage, *Introduction to the History of West Africa*, (1955), and R. Oliver and G. Mathews, eds., *History of East Africa*, vol. I, (1962). For Africa north of the Sahara there is little indeed in English, and one would do best to turn to H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, (1949-50). The slave trade (particularly the British trade) is covered in D. P. Mannix and M. Cowley, *Black Cargoes*, (1963), and J. Pope-Hennessy, *Sins of the Fathers*, (1967).

For the Anglo-French struggle in North America, Francis Parkman is again outdated, but tells the story in epic fashion. More modern interpretations are found in: Glyndwr Williams, *The Expansion of Europe in the Eighteenth Century*, (1966), G. S. Graham, *Empire of the North Atlantic*, (1958 ed.), H. H. Peckham, *The Colonial Wars*, (1964), C. P. Stacey, *The Siege of Quebec*, (1959), R. Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies*, (1963 ed.), and, of course, vols. VI-VIII of L. H. Gipson's massive, *The British Empire Before the American Revolution*, (1946-54).

Acknowledgments

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